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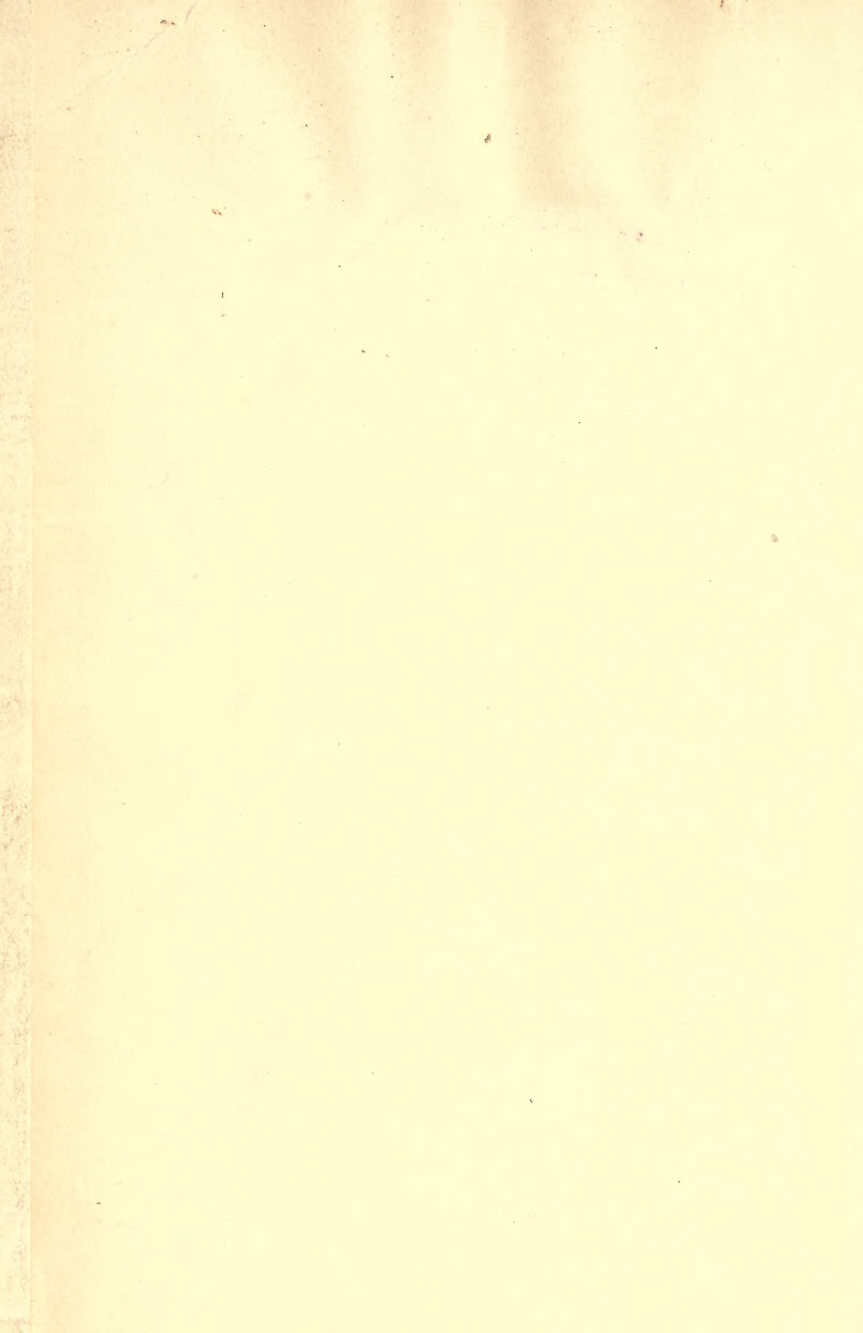
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MISS AMERICA, ONCE OF ITALY, NOW OF THE SMALL ARMY
OF MIGRANT VEGETABLE PICKERS IN THE EASTERN STATES

Because they are forlorn and scattered, separated from the masses of their kind, and peculiarly without friends, the Church may bring to migrant laborers of all kinds just the helpful service they most need and of which it is most capable.

FROM SURVEY TO SERVICE

BY HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS

Author of *Christian Reconstruction in the South*,
The New Home Missions, *The Little Town*, etc.

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A Foreword

The study of home missions has often been the study of work done by home mission boards, a transcript of records arranged in orderly fashion showing the work accomplished, the work in process, and the work yet needing to be done. Profitable studies have been provided of special phases of the work among immigrants or race groups, along the frontier or in the cities. Such texts provide for the study of home missions in simplest terms.

There are reasons why, in the effort to understand the problem fundamentally, we should have some studies more analytical than these. Such a study was made by the author of this book in his earlier work, *The New Home Missions*. Since that time the outlook has somewhat changed:

1. Recent years have amassed a volume of accurate knowledge about our land, its people, and its enterprises. Rich results of such surveys are available, valuable to us in the effort to adapt organized Christianity to the changing situations.

2. The war demonstrated and developed community consciousness and capacity for cooperation, called for emphasis upon essentials in religion, and brought a realization of the existence of a shocking lack of moral quality, indicating its causal relation to lack of religion.

3. Organized Christianity is on trial as it has not been since the closing decades of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth century. All elements of the problem should be studied, and the work of the Church and its mission agencies be appraised.

The Church cannot pretend to meet the new day without taking to heart these facts and their implications. By the same token, an adequate program of home missions must take account of them. If, therefore, this book should seem to some readers less focused upon the work of our boards than others have been, the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement would ask them to consider what great reinforcement of the program of missions may await just such a setting forth of it in the larger total of facts, and what fresh dignity will attach to an adequate missionary program thus viewed. A book with this breadth of view, penetration, and balance has been sought. No understanding reader will fail to see the vital relation between such a presentation and home missions strictly so called.

The author's work is of necessity limited to a study of the Church in action. Its limits preclude discussion of the nature of the Church and treatment of all of the values with which its ministry enriches human life. The book assumes the divine character of the Church and passes on to consider the missionary enterprise as one indication of that character. Its ideal is the Church in sacrificial outreach to a needy world, most divine when most practical in its service.

While the needs and the task are emphasized rather than the missionary agencies which may undertake the task, those who use the book will see what agencies within their denominations may best be brought to bear.

MILES B. FISHER

For the Joint Committee on Home Mission Literature

NEW YORK CITY

April, 1921.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CHURCH A SERVICE AGENCY FOR THE PEOPLE

How the Church comes to the prairie. The place is a wide and wind-swept expanse of land bounded only by sky. The time is not so long ago. From immemorial years up to last week this was Indian country. Now its virgin soil lies open to the occupancy of the homesteader. The spectator's first impression is one of undulating emptiness, of endless waves of wild grasses sprinkled with the flowers of prairie weeds dulled by the first frost.

Suddenly dust clouds appear here and there in the distance. One traces obscure tracks converging toward a solitary sod house set in the midst of a wide horizon. No other habitation is visible; but all at once people are gathering by team or Ford from all quarters. Beyond the horizon and hidden by the contours of land are scattered a few other sod houses set within small barbed-wired enclosures. These are new-born prairie homes. It is Sunday, and the folks from these homes are coming together for church.

This is the first expression of the community which has occurred on this unturned soil. It is the foundation of social institutions, and the consecration of a fresh bit of America by new pilgrims to the faith and ideals of their fathers and their race.

Humanity is incurably religious. Most of those who thus gather are just plain lonesome and tired of solitary toil. A few, perhaps, may bring to the prairie the gift of seers and mystics. Solitude may open the eyes of

such until they see the very sage-brush aflame with God and discern the weaving of his garments in the morning mist, even as the Indian before them. Most, however, stand midway between these extremes. They cherish the ordinary conventional religion of America. It is symbolized by a Bible or two. In the sod house where they meet are found a few hard-used hymn-books which, with a wheezy organ, have traveled over half a state in a lumber wagon. They are folks who have known labor and sorrow. Their faces are bronzed and seamed, and their hands hard. At this first church gathering in their new home they are wistful rather than happy. One knows for a certainty that if hearts were laid bare, they would show great reserves of unsatisfied hopes and longings. They are thwarted, incomplete men and women, half-starved of spirit like most people everywhere. More or less consciously and purposefully they all hunger for freedom and peace, for illumination and the renewal of power. Each in his measure, they have come together in the search for God. They are just average folks of our race and time, partially aware of their larger citizenship in the realm of vision and communion of souls.

The church habit. Of course it is not strictly fresh material of religious capacity and experience which these people are bringing together for expression in a new community. It is rather a fund of religious habits formed in old places on old models. The historic church is present in the person of the missionary preacher. The hymn-book bears the imprint of a denominational publishing house. A woman whispers to her neighbor to know whether the minister is Methodist or Presbyterian. The conventionalized religious arts and acts of public worship—prayer, the hymn, the sermon, the collection—are

understood by all, though their sense of when to rise or sit or kneel in carrying on the common ritual may vary. Hidden in some hearts is the conviction that certain ways of worship are more pleasing to God than others. All this, however, is held under cover for the present. The new situation has thrown the community back on first principles. The people are lonely and want a church for fellowship. For the full utterance of their religious impulses they are dependent upon the social organization of religion. They need a church because through it their spiritual experiences are expressed better than any one of them can express them alone. They need a church to teach their children and to constitute a moral rallying point in the community.

After the formal "service" they take up the discussion of the future. Of the preacher they ask, "When can you come again?" It is agreed to circulate a subscription list throughout the new settlement within two weeks. The people are then dismissed under the blessing of God.

The public school a twin institution. The community group does not dissolve, however; it merely shifts the positions of certain of its members. A knot of men who had squatted in the sun throughout the religious exercises now crowd into the cabin. Someone moves to consider the creation of a school district according to the laws of the state. There is prolonged discussion, a listing of the children of the settlement, further necessary agreements, and the school is in the way of being founded along with the church.

Here the narrative ends. Come back to this prairie in one or ten or a hundred years and see what has happened. Did the twin institutions of church and school find permanent root on this spot?

The fostering care of state and church. The fortunes of neither school nor church will have depended solely upon the people of the locality whose institutions they are. A second great declaration of national purpose wrote into the Ordinance of 1787 these famous words: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." From the beginning, therefore, the state will not only have fostered but also have required and controlled the school. It will have supplemented local support by state aid. It will have seen to it that education follows people wherever they go.

The fostering of religion however—which the Ordinance makes an equal foundation of civilization with morality and knowledge—will have been left to the church. In order that the local church of the prairie folks may survive and grow, there must be a supplementing and helping agency of religion, an organized expression of brotherly fellowship and aid. Only such an agency can see to it that religion follows people wherever they go. The general name for this agency is Home Missions. It is to the local church what the state educational systems are to the school. The church is born in the religious and social natures and needs of men in communities; it is confirmed and strengthened, its permanence is assured and its presence universalized through the great home missionary process.

If, through these fostering agencies, school and church continued to survive on the prairie, how well did they serve the community? Of the things which the people wanted consciously or implicitly, how much are they getting at the hands of their institutions? Are the church

and the school up to standard? If so, what standard? Just how well are the people being served in exchange for their faith and their money?

How school success is judged. With respect to the school there would be little at any time to prevent a straightforward and dispassionate answer. The teaching is either good or poor. The building is either adequate or inadequate. The teacher is either properly prepared for her work or is not. The objective results of education are measurable. Pupils of a given age are either in their proper grades or else in advance of them or behind them. There is a recognized standard for reading, writing, and arithmetic which average pupils of a given age should reach. The degree in which a given pupil is above or below the average can be told with a large measure of accuracy, and no one doubts the legitimacy of judging a school in this way.

Why the church is not judged by similar standards. With respect to the church the case is very different. Never, after the very moment of its birth, will one be allowed to regard it in its naked function as a service agency for the social and religious life of the community. By the end of the year it will find itself leaning towards one or another denomination. In ten years it will be hedged about by various expressions of historic Christianity. In a hundred years it will be armored in tradition and bulwarked by ecclesiastical interests which tend to keep it alive whether it is serving the community or not. This is likely to lead to confusion and obscure the fact that the function of the Church is to minister to the spiritual life of the people and to guide and direct the social life of the community.

The survey method applies objective standards to the church. Now, the survey method as applied to any given church is just an attempt to regain the simplicity of judgment which we have when we see it in its beginnings facing the community. The survey proposes to apply to it at any point in its history the tests which are continuously applied to the school; namely, those of measurable success or failure. It assumes the belief that, whatever may be true of the Church at large, the fundamental question of the church localized in any particular place is whether the spiritual capacities of the people of that place are having adequate expression and culture through it and whether in it they are finding fellowship. It implies further that there may be applied certain objective tests—at least of approximate value—which tell whether its service is adequate or not. Spiritual illiterates and retarded learners in morals and faith may be enumerated as well as intellectual ones, and standards of relative church efficiency discovered.

Significance of the survey method in home missions. It is the recognized business of the official agencies which fostered education to judge of school results by such methods. Indeed, this is one of the chief functions of state departments of education today. They make continuous and comparative studies of educational success or failure within and between counties. Their verdicts are statistically precise: "Fifty per cent of the teachers of L, G, and B counties are below standard preparation. County X is twenty per cent above County Y in average attendance, normal grading, and equipment." Thus definitely the efficiency of the school's service to the people is being measured from locality to locality.

It is coming to be the recognized business of the agen-

cies which fostered the Church, to judge local religious results with similar precision. The vision of the local church is inevitably local. In exercising supervision home mission boards and other ecclesiastical agencies have it in their power to use, and they increasingly are using, the same precise methods which constitute the foundations of scientific management of schools and industries. The fact that national religious agencies are making more and more precise investigations, that they are making them together, that they are using one another's results, and that they are determining their policies thereby, marks the dawning of a new era in home missions. We have a new wealth of missionary statistics, a fresh test of the patience of the saints. We have graphs, an attempt to make the results of precise studies as easy as possible to comprehend. Capable men are engaged in popularizing and showing the striking lessons of prolonged investigations by charts and pictures. We are in the era of service based upon survey. It calls for a new order of Christian intelligence, a resolute pursuit of demonstrable truth, an open-minded facing of all the facts about the Church in the light of its serviceable results.

Norms of success and failure, local and national. A survey by its very nature is comparative. It cannot altogether tell where the best churches fail of complete success of service. It can, however, tell with some accuracy why some are above the average and others below. It can express the norms of success and explain departures from them.

We now have in the combined studies and research of many agencies, the general outlines of a national religious survey. It is therefore possible to ask and to

answer with some definiteness, how far the Church at large serves the spiritual life of the American people. In the souls of our people at their best glows the splendor of God. The Church is an expression of that life. How adequately does she nourish and direct the religious impulses and aspirations of so mighty a nation?

THE CHURCH SERVES THE PEOPLE VERY UNEQUALLY

This is the first outstanding conclusion from the survey method. Roughly and in the large we may take church membership as measuring the extent and value of the Church's service to the American people. When one finds that for every thousand people there are half as many more professing Christians in New Jersey than in California and twice as many in Iowa as in Oklahoma, no one in his senses concludes that New Jersey people are proportionately more capable of spiritual development than Californians, or Iowans twice as religious as Oklahomans. Such variations in the ratio of church membership to population reflect upon the Church rather than upon the people. The Church has evidently functioned longer or is functioning more efficiently in one place than in the other. Wherein, one naturally asks, does the difference lie? Upon what exactly are these variations based?

Church membership varies primarily as density of population. A study of church membership by states yields this amazingly simple clue: that its variations are explained first of all by varying densities of population. If all parts of the country were equally well served by the Church, the rank of a given state in church membership would be the same as its rank in population. The



Courtesy Northern Baptist Board of Promotion

BRINGING THE BIBLE TO THE PRAIRIE

The founding of the Church on the prairie, as a result of the labors of the missionary preacher and colporteur, is the first expression of community life. One of the primary problems of religious statesmanship will always be the overcoming of distance in behalf of religion.

more people, the more professing Christians. The facts are that there is no such correspondence. If, on the other hand, states are arranged in the order of density of population, it will be found that the more thickly populated generally have the larger proportionate numbers of church members. As shown in the table below,¹ the church membership rank of the twelve states having sixty or more people to the square mile is in every case equal to or above their population rank. At the other extreme two thirds of the fourteen states with as few as two to twenty people to the square mile rank below their population order in church membership.

The same situation is discovered from another angle by dividing the states into two equal groups according to density of population. Of the twenty-four states (including the District of Columbia) having more than forty people to the square mile, more than four fifths are equal in church membership, or more than equal to their population rank. Of the twenty-five states of less than forty people to the square mile, three out of every five are below their population rank in church membership.

Influence of cities, mountains, and forests. To be densely populated a state must ordinarily have many or great cities. In spite of all their evils and complexities,

¹ Table Showing Church Membership in Relation to Population Rank

Population per square mile	No. of States	
Over 200	4	All above population rank
60 to 200	8	All equal or above population rank
40 to 60	13	$\frac{3}{4}$ equal or above population rank
20 to 40	8	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{2} \text{ equal or above population rank} \\ \frac{1}{2} \text{ below population rank} \end{array} \right.$
2 to 20	14	$\frac{2}{3}$ below population rank

cities have more church members than there are among an equal number of people scattered over the open country. There were 220 cities in 1910 with more than 25,000 population. Their combined populations constituted 32.79 per cent of the people of the United States. In 1916 they had 36.5 per cent of the church membership. They also had a larger proportion of male members. This superiority in membership fell chiefly within the class of cities of between 25,000 and 100,000 population; but even the largest cities had slightly more church members than the average of the nation. This works out on state areas as well; the more urban states tend to have a larger proportionate church membership.

With average densities of population states with large mountain areas or with extensive forests are likely to be below their population rank in church membership. This is illustrated by Tennessee or Michigan. The influence of these factors is inevitable and obvious.

Restating this broadest generalization,—we have discovered that thickly settled regions with cities are favorable to the efficient service of the community by the Church, while sparse populations divided by natural barriers like mountains or forests are unfavorably situated. This is but a commonplace discovery and is generally taken for granted; yet its consequences are astounding. Unless it is credible that the people of the mountains or the forests or the desert should be less capable of God than the people of the city, the difference must lie in the efficiency of the Church as an agency of service.

Lack of a religious policy based on most obvious facts. On the other hand nobody has seriously and authoritatively undertaken to base religious policy upon these variations from church membership. No home

mission board or general agency of the churches has proposed adequate measures to even up these differences in the efficiency of the Church's service to the people. Yet they are based upon sheer brute facts of the numerical relationships of population and land, and if the Church is to serve the nation as a vast community, it must obviously equalize religious opportunity to the utmost degree possible.

Spiritual illiteracy and the failure of civilization.

Just what happens to people of equal capacity who are not well served by the Church? The religious instincts of children as they emerge are not systematically fixed as permanent habits; the vision splendid "fades into the light of common day" before it has a chance to register itself indelibly upon the heart; the elementary arts of religion—prayer, praise, testimony—are not learned in their season. Spiritual illiteracy ensues. The other forces which bind people together in communities fail before the same difficulties which prevent the Church. The bonds of civilization itself are imperfect. Men are not linked together by the deepest ties. Many in the strictest sense remain pagan, incompletely socialized, with their finest and most significant contributions to life unmade, and their better angels unawakened. This is true of the unfavored spots in all states and of very large areas in some states.

What would be real success in home missions?

Whatever is vital to the life and health of any locality in a democratic nation is the concern of the whole people. The protection of the whole people is over every inch of American soil as against foreign aggression. The resources of the nation at large are increasingly put behind the several states, and through them behind the

several communities, for the purposes of education. Home missions has the honor of being one of the earliest discoverers of this principle. Throughout their marvelous history they have voluntarily attempted to put the general resources of the nation behind its places of greatest need; but they have carried out their own brotherly logic in a very incomplete and halting way. What then, one asks, is the idea of real success in home missions?

Must we not answer: Such results as would largely even up the statistics of church membership, for example as between New Jersey and California, or Iowa and Oklahoma. Much could be accomplished by the proper placing and sustaining of the men and institutions of religion even before the end of ten years. We know something about the rate at which illiteracy can be removed when a state undertakes a serious educational "drive." By the end of a quarter of a century, as the fruits of a persistent religious drive scientifically directed, there might be a fifty per cent change for the better in the membership record in the more backward states. Supposing that native religious capacity is equally rooted in human nature, it is primarily a question of mobilizing resources effectively and of establishing the agencies and relationship necessary to bring into expression the spiritual powers now dormant in people. With even our present resources made to function more equitably, could we not in the long run have as many church members per thousand people in Oklahoma as in Iowa?

No Protestant at least would consent to a compulsory unification of religious resources or anything approaching a religious dictatorship even to secure so desirable an end on so vast a scale. We do not seek salvation save on principles which alone make men worth saving. All

the more urgently, therefore, comes the challenge to Christian intelligence and efficiency to express themselves democratically in perfecting the service of the Church to the nation and in releasing the immeasurable spiritual gifts and graces which now lie sleeping and wasting. For American souls are dying because of the mere physical absence of and technical deficiencies in the agencies of religion.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SERVICE IN DETAIL

The Old Testament most accurately presents a survey of the religious occupancy of a nation. In the first chapter of Judges it bounds the territory of each of the tribes of Israel and then notes the exceptions to actual conquest.

For some of the tribes these lists of exceptions are very long. Map them out exactly and one finds that more territory remained unconquered than had yet been occupied.

It is even so with our United States. Our land is nominally occupied by the Church, but close examination yields a staggering list of exceptions.

Now an adequate religious survey of America would have to go over the 13,000 or 14,000 cities or towns block by block, and the 40,000 or 50,000 rural neighborhoods farm by farm, and accurately map the "ye did its" and the "ye did it nots" of a Christian community service.

A close study of facts. The field work for such a survey has been completed for about one fourth of the populated area of America. It locates every church living or dead; maps its parish boundaries; indicates the distance to its pastor's residence, if it has a pastor; and shows the community's areas within which people are constantly coming together for trade, education, and rec-

reation as well as for religious purposes. In many well-populated counties of prosperous states ranking high in church membership, it finds large areas within which nobody belongs to any church. These are described precisely in terms of land units thus: In Smith township sections 19, 21 (with the exception of N. E. corner), 23, 24, 25, and 26 are wholly unevangelized; nobody living on them belongs to any church. The survey shows also many areas in the average county covered by the overlapping parishes of several churches.

The moral of such a survey. One might conclude that all these unchurched people are confirmed sinners impregnable to Christian approach. But this is not true, it is not in line with what we have found to be the case in larger areas. One suspects that some of them are people poorly served by the Church. The conclusion seems irresistible, too, that the religious surplus of the overlapping church areas should somehow be made available for the unserved areas. How and in what manner must be determined by the patient study of each case in particular.

State and areal surveys. The entire state of Ohio has been surveyed religiously, and maps have been published showing every church in every county. The entire relationship and social background of religious institutions for that state have been analyzed. Most of the forces which operate to help or to hinder church success are now well understood.

Ohio is the only state thus far to receive complete study. The counties covered by the Interchurch survey, however, are not scattered equally over the United States but are largely grouped in particular areas. A study of them affords a basis for conclusions about still

larger regions. Thus the large proportion of them deal with the newer states west of the Missouri River in which lie the greatest amount of pioneer church work with new communities. Many other counties in the southern Appalachian mountains have been studied. When the study of the data is completed, we shall have a very considerable start toward an exhaustive survey of these two areas.

City surveys. To find out how far the people of the city are served by the Church is a more complicated matter. Surveys must be made by wards or neighborhoods, by blocks, dwellings, and households. A city apartment may house as many people as a Western county. While, therefore, it would be hard to find a city block with no church members at all, a single house without church members may mean a greater failure on the part of the Church than a whole township somewhere else. The city survey must measure and interpret all these factors.

There is just one way to measure the service of the Church to America and to make it as adequate as resources permit; that is, to study communities accurately one by one. Otherwise we shall be imagining we have conquered Canaan when we have not.

Surveys on local initiative. If the Church cannot make surveys everywhere at once, it may at least have a great many communities studying themselves separately; and there may be other states besides Ohio which will carry out a survey on a state-wide scale. If an individual Christian believes fundamentally in subjecting the Church to service tests, he can do no greater service than to persuade the ministers and church officials of his community to undertake a local survey. A pastor can

show constructive leadership in no better way. There is no more effective method of directing the affairs of presbyteries, synods, or boards than by presenting the results of surveys for their consideration. Most of all, a community in which a survey has already been made should resolutely face the facts as discovered and ask what the test of service demands of the churches individually and as a whole.

Loving a nation through a map. No one who has seen Drinkwater's play "Abraham Lincoln" as presented on the American stage can forget the brooding of that gaunt figure over the map of the United States. In his study in Springfield and later in the White House, Lincoln is shown passing his fingers tenderly across the boundary between North and South as though to wipe it out. He caresses the map as one caresses a beloved face, and his outstretched hands seem lifted over it in benediction. Now, survey maps for the modern Christian ought to be charged with a like power to arouse emotion. No one can visualize the whole United States at once or any of its major subdivisions. The map is the most efficient servant of the imagination. It is the duty of all Christian leaders to attain a certain map-mindedness. Often their hands should reach out instinctively to rub out barriers which stand between brethren and to remove mountains which hinder the feet of the messengers of good tidings.

A SURVEY REVEALS THE CAUSES OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE

Setting forth the facts of the Church's efficiency or bungling in service, as the survey does, and even caring tremendously about it, does not in itself get us anywhere.

We cannot take a real step forward till we have discovered the causes behind the facts and have devised means to reinforce the helpful causes and to oppose the unfriendly ones. In other words, we must pass on from the survey to the principles of its interpretation.

What a survey cannot do. Taking thought does not add a cubit to our stature. We cannot make the native capacities of a church any greater than they are. If in any measure the Church has not attained its full height of spiritual intelligence, if it is inept in reproducing its kind, if it shows premature signs of decadence, the remedy must be looked for in the healing touch of God and the enduement of spiritual power from realms which the survey method does not pretend to reach. On the contrary, taking the church just as it is, we may discover the more outstanding conditions which make for or against its efficiency in service. Then we can cling to the one and try to avoid the other.

The chief obstacles to effective service. The words which stand out large upon the whole body of the survey data as gathered by many agencies, to indicate the chief barriers to efficient service, are: DISTANCE, TRANSIENCE, DIFFERENCE, PREJUDICE, and ECONOMIC CONFLICT.

On the contrary, nearness of people in neighborhood, permanence in communities, likeness in race, history, and tradition, justice and tolerance, industrial peace and good-will make for the success of the Church in the service of the social and spiritual needs of the people.

Distance. The obstacle of distance has already discovered itself. In the semi-arid regions of the West the Government allows a settler to homestead 640 acres instead of 160, because it takes four times as much land

to make a living there as where there is an average rainfall. This means that people will always have to live twice as far apart. As matters now stand, their chance of having a church at all, of receiving adequate service through a church, of having a normal spiritual development through Christian social life, are all vastly reduced. It remains for home missions to discover how to overcome this barrier, how to equalize evangelism and the service of the religious life. This issue is essential in the familiar problems of the frontier and of the rural church. It has large bearing also upon the adequate religious service of city populations.

Transience. The Church characteristically is one of the conservative forces of the community. It builds communities, and its instinct is for permanence. Its methods in the main have been modeled upon the habits of people in fixed places. Rapid change perplexes it. When people move too fast, it cannot keep up with them. For those who never have a settled abiding place—the people whose transience is permanent—it has almost no method of service. It needs most urgently to go where the people go and as fast as they go.

Difference. Besides reflecting the permanent things in community life, the church tends to express the particular characteristics and habits of the community in which it is. When people who come into the community are like those who are already there, the church easily finds a place for them. When they are strange in appearance, language, or custom, a serious barrier arises on which all too often efficient service is wrecked. The difficulty is best felt by us in considering cases in which it is an American population which finds itself locally a minority in its own homeland. Such a situation exists

in many Northwestern counties settled by foreign-speaking people. These foreign-born Christians have many and active churches with frequent social gatherings, and a church life hearty and progressive in its way. Among them are a few scattered American farmers. These do not understand the language of the church services. The social ways of the neighborhood are unfamiliar, and the practical control of affairs is in the hands of men of alien ideals. The foreign-language church finds it difficult to serve these American families exactly as the American church finds it difficult to serve immigrant families when they are new and in the minority. The shoe simply is on the other foot. Such differences within a population are universally recognized as one of the chief missionary problems of the Church. Difference is a problem because it is a barrier to efficient service.

Prejudice. The almost universal accompaniment of difference between people is the imagination that difference is greater than it really is. Differences are never seen under a clear sky but always through an atmosphere which magnifies them. Liking and disliking do not wait upon actual contacts between people but are acquired in advance. Nothing in the moral character of humanity at large is more serious than this fact. To be sure, mankind is evolved with prejudice as a deeply rooted instinct. As with all the other instincts, rational growth ought to subjugate it. Man has no more right to be governed by his childish prejudices than by his childish fears; yet while fears are systematically conquered, prejudices are systematically cultivated by most powerful elements in our civilization. Children are educated into prejudice as related to classes and races of men. The whole popular estimate of propriety and success

gets its flavor from the perpetuation of prejudice. What most tickles man's self-conceit is that he corresponds to his prejudices. Nothing so interferes with the Church in its work with all sorts and conditions of man. The problem of prejudice lies at the roots of the Christian conquest through service.

Economic conflict. Men do not come into each other's presence on parade merely to be judged as familiar or strange, likable or unlikable. Most of the time they meet under the stress of practical relationship seeking profit of each other as buyers, sellers, borrowers, lenders, employers, employees, owners, tenants, and the like. In these characters their interests do not immediately coincide. It is of the very essence of the situation that the two parties stand on the opposite sides of the counter or beside opposite weights of the scales. In every exchange either of labor or goods, it is a matter of estimates whether both parties have profited or whether one has gained an advantage over the other. In our actual world there is much to justify the feeling that possession of the counter and the scales themselves by one of the parties makes equity in transaction between them highly improbable. Into this world of organized conflict the Church comes with her attempt to meet the religious needs of mankind. However obligated and however able she may be in thought to separate herself from the conflict, she is wholly unable to do so in her practical enterprises; for it is men in active conflict whom she seeks to serve and from whom she seeks support. Even though they straighten up at the Church's call and seek to respond as if there were no conflict in the world, its habits and passions are raging in their hearts, and their actions are largely determined by them. This condition enters

vitality into the missionary program. It stands in the way of the Church's success at well-nigh every turn.

Summary. The distant people, the transient people, the different people,—their cases complicated and compromised by prejudice and economic conflict,—these are the Church's missionary problems. It is our particular interest in this book to see what light even a fragmentary survey throws upon their practical solution and what contribution the Church's new knowledge may make to current programs of Christian advance.

THE CHURCH'S BUSINESS IS TO SUCCEED

In spite of all difficulties the Church ought to serve the religious needs of the American people efficiently and well. A Church no better than it is—and confessedly it is no better than it ought to be—nevertheless has a duty to succeed. Of course, not by magic; it cannot succeed through verbal solutions; neither can it make its problem easier by waving the wand of logical analysis. All a survey can do is to show where these difficulties are being met better than elsewhere and by what means. If these means are mechanical and technical; if they pertain to organization and method; if people no better than we are functioning better than we are, because they have the "hang of it" as we have not, a survey can show how to improve our methods. This promises no millennium. No one knows just how far it will add to the Church's success in any given case or issue; but it is certain to increase greatly its present efficiency.

Objectives. In this confidence the Church is setting for itself certain recognized home missionary objectives: First, that the whole area of the nation shall be occupied

by the agencies of religion. This is primarily a quantitative matter. It consists in furnishing and placing enough (and not too many) of men and institutions for all our communities as determined by a careful study of them one by one.

Second, that the entire people shall be adequately served by religious agencies. This is the qualitative aspect of the problem. It requires that we erect the best examples of current success in the standards of adequacy for general acceptance, and that the Church then go about it to see that the poorest community is as well served in all the essentials as the best is now.

Third, that the technical mastery of all problems be reached wherever these problems exist. There is no more reason why a divided community should go without the best means of unifying people than that a dark community should go without electric lights. Great social inventions, inventions of organization and method, are available exactly as other scientific devices are. People with no more ability than we have are skilled in community strategy. They know how to minister to scattered populations. They at least begin to glimpse effective methods of dealing with the transient. They have had successful experience in working with alien peoples. In some measure they can allay prejudice and make industrial conflict work the works of peace. To teach others what these people know and to make their services available for every need that exists, is a legitimate objective of home missions of today.

SANCTIFICATION THROUGH SERVICE

Service will not let the Church stand still spiritually. A Church which is striving to make its service univer-

sally effective cannot rest where it now is. The moral energies hidden in it are not a fixed quantity. Up to this point we have argued only that they would go farther if they were more wisely and economically disposed. We have now to consider the reaction of service upon the Church itself. It would be accompanied by the release of spiritual life and a fresh access of spiritual power.

A better Church. The inevitable result would be a better Church; first, because adequate service manifestly depends upon a new genuineness of Christian cooperation. Not only does the stupendous size of the task make it hopeless to undertake except unitedly, but its scientific basis simply will not allow its being carried out sectarianly. It will take every ounce of Christian energy which the Church now possesses, and very much more, which must be generated by the very challenge of the task. But it will also compel the task to be approached in the new way—that of applying definite means to definite ends over definite areas and for definitely understood needs of people. This means a new accuracy and bigness of conception, a generosity in execution, and an adequacy in result which will put the Church in a new attitude toward itself, its denominational departments and agencies, and its fundamental place in the world. It will be an attitude of courage, adaptiveness, self-respect, and victory which expresses the spirit of God himself.

Better and more loyal servants for the Church. Men have not worked at religious enterprises as hard as they could have done nor turned out as large a spiritual product as possible, because it did not seem worth while. Even farther back than that, the Church could not get, in the first place, many of the workers which it naturally should have commanded. It has failed with some of the

young men and women of finest consecration. Again, it could not keep many that it did get. They have constantly slipped away into callings and opportunities which seemed to afford a chance to serve the highest ends of life with fewer handicaps. The fundamental and legitimate causes of complaint have been the lack of a living wage and the competitive character of denominationally organized religion. Feeling the wrongness of the situation which they could not explain or control, the laity have "carried on" in a half-hearted way. They have sustained their churches meagerly and have not put into them the characteristic and achieving energies of American manhood. The result has been under-production both in quality and quantity of the Church's service to the American people.

No permanent victory with a broken sword. Now it is the part of the hero confronted by sudden crisis to seize what weapon comes to hand and with it to wrest victory from defeat. But it is no sane man's part to keep on using inefficient agencies and methods with just as much fire and fervor as one could put into good and efficient ones. It simply cannot be done, and neither the rational intelligence nor the spirit of God expects it. To discover and adopt, on the contrary, a big, scientific program of Christian service for all the people everywhere will direct both enthusiasm and consecration. It will win and hold the best men to the Church; it will give compelling motive to lay leadership and will draw out the same quality of success which characterizes American achievement in other spheres. The Church will not merely use its resources better; it will be better and God will like it better, and he will bless it accordingly, out of his infinite riches unlocked by new and adequate motive to service.



A MISSION INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE AT MAYAGUEZ, PORTO RICO

Missions train in self-government in the native church, they foster native initiative, they stand for fundamental democracy, they inculcate thrift, they create loyalty, they carry civilization into the lives and homes of neglected masses.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REACH OF THE CHURCH

Home Missions and the Problem of Distance

The Church began its history with an amazing assault upon the limitations which space set to the spread of the gospel. It had its own critical problem of distance. The Roman Empire had already turned its vast resources upon its problem in the interest of imperial unity. Over the wonderful roads which Rome had built, the apostles traveled with incredible energy bearing their message. By land and sea alike St. Paul was one of the notable travelers of his day. Bits of tradition show other apostolic adventurers almost matching his journeys in other quarters of the globe. These journeys were supplemented by the constant dispatch of messengers and by a vigorous correspondence, the surviving parts of which constitute the bulk of the New Testament.

A world grown small. The entire circle of the globe is now accessible to man. Communication is instantaneous, and men go wherever they wish. On the whole, however, they make it easy and practicable to go only where it is profitable. Means of communication are by no means universal. There are lonely seas and roadless deserts, unconquered mountains and forests, and multitudes of people whom it is hard to reach with adequate religious ministries. Even in the United States, as we have already seen, the sheer brutal fact of distance is the main explanation of the unequal distribution of organized Christian life. One of the primary problems of re-

ligious statesmanship will always be the overcoming of distance in behalf of religion.

Continental distance and national unity. Amused as we may now be at the early prophecies that the United States could never hold together as a nation because of its vast territory, enough of sectionalism based on distance still survives to make us understand how natural the fear of division was in its day. As it is, we exist as one nation only by virtue of eternal coming and going, resulting in innumerable face-to-face contacts between people who live most of the time thousands of miles apart. To this is added the union of practical interests, through investment, business dealings, and the like; the fact of a common culture and thought fed by the daily reading of the same news, by seeing the same pictures, and wearing the same fashions. The nation is very largely interrelated in blood, and, in spite of racial differences, the great dominating mass come from a common human stock. The common experiences of life intersphere in millions of ways, while finally we share the great common inheritances of American history, fused by new fires such as the World War. Above all shines a common faith.

If it takes all this to keep the nation united in spite of distance, what must be true of its far-sundered fragments, divided from it, not by land, but by seas?

WHERE SEAS DIVIDE

The far-off Americas. The original America, one recalls, was insular. Within this generation we have again become a nation of islands as well as the nation of the continent. But how slender the ties which reach over

and under the seas compared with those which bind the land! Porto Rico, for example, is farther off in time than Seattle or San Diego is from the Atlantic seaboard; yet for a million of people in Washington or Southern California a hundred trains converge daily and a hundred will turn back eastward. They not only carry men and goods between termini, but continuously load and discharge them from ocean to ocean. A million people in Porto Rico depend upon two regular boats a week sailing from a single port and supplemented by a few tramp steamers. The boats make no stop between New York and the island. If one wants to cross Santo Domingo quickly and cheaply, he goes back to New York and takes another boat which lands on the opposite side of the island. The Philippine Islands are so far away that most thinking Americans have abandoned the idea of making them permanently a part of the nation. They are uniformly treated by the Church as a foreign mission field.

The roll call of the islands. Merely to name and to characterize most summarily these insular bits of the nation proclaims how hard it is either to create a genuine American loyalty or to make an adequate Christian ministry stretch over the uncertain seas.

Hawaii: The immensely fertile and beautiful island-home of a scant two hundred thousand people more strangely mingled in blood and race than any equal number in our domains. This was the scene of one of the earliest triumphs of foreign missions in completely Christianizing a pagan people. Now the battle has to be fought all over again by reason of the in-pouring of immigrant races, Oriental and heathen. Japanese are the preponderant people and with the Chinese constitute more

than half of the population. Numerically the dominant religion of the island is Buddhism. One of the most active expressions of "American Christianity" is Mormonism. An old New England type of evangelism is still admirably sustained by the small but wealthy Caucasian population. It is led by sons of missionaries and encouraged by the fellowship and gifts of the homeland churches. Yet how slight and feeble a thing is the Church in Hawaii if left to itself, and how essential the constant reach across the seas of the men and resources of the Motherland!

Porto Rico: A fair tropical island, five sixths as large as Connecticut, in which dwell a million and more people of Spanish blood and mixed tongue. It was neglected and exploited by Spain for four centuries and cursed by a decrepit and bigoted Romanism. The economic efficiency of the whole people has been reduced at least fifty per cent by hookworm disease. As a fair measure of Porto Rico's former value to the world, one man was worth only half a man. American rule has added population, preserved order, furnished capital, quickened industry, planted schools, fought disease. It is valued for its results, but not loved. Missions go deeper. They train in self-government in the native church, they foster native initiative, they stand for fundamental democracy, they inculcate thrift, they create loyalty, they carry civilization into the lives and homes of neglected masses; but how slender is the thread of missionary endeavor and service across the sundering seas!

Haiti-Santo Domingo: The bankrupt wards of the United States administered under treaty, but far away and inaccessible; Haiti, the worst-governed spot on our hemisphere, the righteous control of which is no small

task. The leadership of its two million French-speaking people, predominantly of Negro heritage, will tax our best intelligence and sympathy.

Spanish-speaking Santo Domingo adds its six hundred thousand people to the human problem of this island. A few thousand rich and cultured people cling to its margin, while in the interior live some of the most degraded human beings of the world. Roads are virtually absent, and railroads but beginning. Utter poverty is everywhere and illiteracy practically universal. Illegitimacy and sexual disease are practically the rule. Administrative reform is increasing revenues, the marines make life safer, schools have been begun in Santo Domingo, but missions are touching only the faintest fringe of civilization. The saddest cry of North America has been almost unanswered until recently.

But now a hopeful plan of Christian work is under way. The Churches are entering this field as a united Christian force. Through the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, which represents the mission boards working in Latin America, there has been formed the Board of Christian Work for Santo Domingo. A group of home mission boards, both general and women's, have already joined the new organization and subscribed to a budget of \$80,000 for the first year's work. Other communions will no doubt join to establish, not a denominational work, but an Evangelical Church in the Dominican Republic. A superintendent has already been sent to the field, and recently a fine property has been purchased which will provide quarters for a school, a church and social and community activities.

Space is lacking to tell of other minute islands—mere pin-points in the Atlantic or Pacific—where the American

flag waves over a few thousand or a few hundred souls.

FROM SEAS TO SNOWS

Alaska: Distance takes on its maximum difficulty in the Polar Zone. The explorer penetrates its wastes only to come away again if possible. Through thousands of years of trial mankind has demonstrated the farthest limits of possible habitation. Just within these lies most of the vast bulk of Alaska. There is, of course, a section where a short, intense summer gives reasonable living conditions, but for the most part, a scanty food supply narrowly limits population. Whole tribes face annually the chance of starvation. Should the walrus hunt or the salmon catch be a failure, there is no possible escape from death. These stern conditions have bred a sound, stocky, cheerful, democratic race of fishers and hunters, clinging to our Arctic coasts. They show marvelous ingenuity in mechanical and artistic results with the few materials available—as shown in the snow house, clothing, weapons, lamp, sleds, and canoe. White civilization has brought them employment, schools, reindeer, and a scanty store of provisions against starvation; but also liquor, disease, and the lust for gold. Missions bring sanitation, morality, and intelligent faith.

Some missionary journeys. Something of the real meaning of distance as involved in the salvation of men must have come to Archdeacon Stuck on his three-thousand-mile "mush" through six months of Arctic winter around the extreme rim of Alaska. When, as sometimes, boat after boat of mission supplies goes down on the stormiest coast where weather records have ever been kept, missionaries as well as natives face possible starvation. For a church dedication, brethren from the nearest

neighboring community travel two weeks over broken ice and through unbroken snow. No other mission field on earth shuts up the representative of the gospel to such cramped quarters, such personal hardships, such narrow companionships, and long-continued physical darkness.

Bringing the far-off near. Living so far away within the Arctic circle or on remote islands, these our distant brethren are in the utmost danger unless the Church faces more resolutely than in the past the duty of equalizing Christian opportunity. The Hawaiian Islands were supposedly Christianized and then lapsed into a heathendom which makes them still one of our most difficult problems. After two and a half centuries of government and evangelism by Christian England, Jamaica is still one-half illiterate, with sixty per cent of its children born out of wedlock. In view of these solemn considerations, it is no impossible fear that centuries might roll by and find our most distant possessions much the same problem that they are now. All too instinctively the Church acts upon the proverb, "Let the children first be fed." Those who are farthest off have the least thought, whereas Christian equality requires that they have more. How much more of laborious travel, of gifts, of multiplied forces and equipment, of highly stimulated activity, the Church has never adequately asked. The gospel which brings peace to the islands must have a long, long reach; and how immense must be the strength and warmth of hand and heart which would make Christ lord of the snows!

THE WEST

The western West. From the moment that home missions began to be nationally organized in America, it

was the needs of the West which dominated the imagination of the Church and which commanded its outpouring of men and means. Affectionate concern for sons and daughters and near kindred was profoundly interwoven with missionary motive and zeal. The West was the East moving West. The Church, established with wave after wave of frontier movement, was the spiritual phase of the winning of the West.

The diminishing frontier. Frontier missions no longer bulk so large in our present-day sense of needs and values. Industrial problems, city problems, problems of old soils and old commonwealths, with world problems now dominate the heart and conscience and push the older home missionary ideal into an ever smaller corner. The temptation, therefore, is strong to forget that in spite of its diminished importance we still have a frontier.

A discontinuous civilization. Over a region imperial in extent, covering at least one third of the area of the nation, human society is not organized on the continuous plan, where farm touches farm or home is within sight of home. It is the land of little rainfall, of high, treeless plains, of vast mountains and valleys, embracing all or parts of twelve states; and, on the average, inhabited by only one family per square mile.

Here and there but not everywhere. The people of this region are largely massed in centers where rail or river or mine or fertile valley or all together unite to erect an oasis of civilization. As new settlers enter, they do not tend to spread out equally over the region, but rather to build around existing centers, or else to form new ones following the same law of concentration. It thus happens that, while the West shows vast propor-

tionate gains in population and large absolute increase, the day does not come appreciably nearer when most of this area shall cease to have the characteristics of a frontier. A glance at the map shows how spotted is the method of settlement and how far apart the spots are. Where two hundred, two thousand, or twenty thousand rural people have settled in a new community within a decade, we place a dot larger or smaller. All told, over a hundred thousand homestead entries are made in an average year, and some forty thousand homestead claims are perfected. Yet this leaves ordinary market towns such as the corn-belt farmer reaches in an hour's drive or less, two hundred miles apart in several states; and it is still often a thousand miles from one second-class city to the next. The West is growing rapidly. A few million acres are or soon will be irrigated. Occupancy after the discontinuous fashion will go on at an accelerated pace, though not without great recessions of population as well as increases. Such fragments of the 1920 data as are available at the present writing show, for example, several western Dakota counties which lost from a quarter to a third of their people between 1910 and 1920. To the end there is no genuine prospect of covering over the empty spaces by human habitations.

Effect of scant and scattered population on religious institutions. What now of the efficient service of the religious life and spiritual needs of men living under such conditions? We have to conclude that over one third of the nation's area does not furnish enough people living near enough together to be gathered generally into serviceable and efficient church units. It is true that most of the population will be found in town centers or about them. These, of course, can be served by methods fa-

miliar elsewhere. The concentration of the most of the population, however, makes all the more distressing the lot of the remaining few who are scattered over an incredibly vast territory. It also constitutes a terrible temptation to sectarian rivalry in the choice of "strategic" places. They seem so strategic, but their heaped-up churches have so little meaning for the distant miner, rancher, Indian, or foreigner.

Illustrations from recent surveys. The Interchurch survey of the thinly populated West furnishes endless illustrations of this general condition—a condition which affects in the aggregate millions of people. Here is a California county with twenty-five thousand rural population of whom less than two per cent belong to Protestant churches. It has a thousand square miles of entirely unevangelized territory known to have a population of at least a thousand people. But how can one evangelize when people live so far apart and when they are largely transients besides? How would St. Paul have done it?

Seventeen counties chiefly in the Northwest are reported as having no churches. Most glaring inequalities occur. A thickly settled valley like one surveyed in Montana shows twenty-six churches for sixteen thousand people, besides church schools and a highly organized religious life. Yet on its outskirts are four communities aggregating about twelve hundred population, but having no church.

To meet the legitimate needs of such scattered populations, it is responsibly estimated that five thousand new churches should be organized west of the Mississippi, and made to function efficiently.

The frontier circuit. A well-known missionary used to start Saturday morning by driving twelve miles, ferry-

ing his team across the Missouri River when it was passable, then driving thirty more miles for a night's lodging in the sole house which broke the solitude of a wind-swept prairie. Next morning he would go winding down for fifteen miles into the valley where his nearest church was located. Some time at night he would reach the rude but comfortable home of a former Indian trader and would hold service near by the next day. Tuesday morning would find him thirty miles farther on, where he would preach in his metropolis, a settlement of forty or fifty people. The next day he would reach his remotest church. After fording a deep-cutting stream, and before nightfall if possible, he would turn his horses' heads homeward, sleeping in the hut of some Indian or camping under his buggy on the open prairie. The two days' return drive would be shortened when the river could be crossed on the ice. At best he would reach home on Friday, only to start out on Saturday morning again. Of course, this could not be kept up week in and week out; and the case is confessedly too extreme to be typical.

Improved travel conditions. Now that railroads and automobiles have "improved" travel conditions, this same circuit is covered in the following manner: On Saturday the Ford is ferried across the Missouri River, and the trip to the first church and return is made on Sunday with comparative ease. But unbridged rivers with precipitous banks prevent the further use of the car. The missionary, therefore, drives to town on Monday and after one hundred and forty miles' journey by rail, reaches his second point after prolonged waits at two cheerless junctions. At this church he preaches and is taken by automobile thirty miles and return to his third point. There is no return train until the next day.

Twenty-four hours later, after two hundred and forty miles of travel and two more delays at junction points, he reaches his fourth and last preaching station. He is then two hundred and seventy-two miles from home by rail. After two more changes, the last twelve miles being covered by automobile, he reaches home on Saturday. The journey is much less exacting and requires less exposure to danger and the elements; but little time is saved, and it is far more expensive than it used to be by team and buggy. The price of the nation's evangelism is a thousand of circuits somewhat similar to this.

The cost of frontier evangelism. Of course the great amount of missionary travel necessary to serve the scattered folks is very expensive compared with the numbers served. It is in the nature of the case that the conquest of distance by the gospel will take very disproportionate amounts of money compared with other forms of missions. It can be cheap only when it is inadequate. Isolated homesteads and scattered communities naturally cannot contribute much to their own evangelization. Automobiles for missionaries and chapel cars with their mileage costs may tax the purse of the Church. But at no smaller price can efficient service be rendered.

Denominational cooperation. There is little motive for sectarian rivalry in such self-sacrificing service. Unhappily solitude fixes isolated people in their prejudices, and denominational difference is often very bitter on the frontier. Unhappily, too, isolated people have to be served very largely by missionaries going out from larger centers where rivalry is keen. But no one can formulate the problem of distance as related to evangelism, or follow with any concrete imagination the lot of frontier people and their

missionaries without being filled with indignation that sectarianism should interfere in any way with carrying a message doubly precious because it has to be carried so far. What would Abraham Lincoln think if he traced with his bony finger the long trail of the missionary's itinerary and found that he was passed halfway by a rival missionary coming from another direction!

One records with great gratitude the story of increasing cooperation between denominations in frontier work. Under the recent leadership of the Home Missions Council, for example, the entire unoccupied part of Montana has been divided into non-competitive spheres of responsibility and assigned to the various communions.

Broadening the local church. But it is not enough merely for denominations to stay out of one another's spheres. Whatever denomination is assigned a particular field has a bounden duty to operate there a community church—that is, a church so broad in Christian sympathy and so generous toward differences of Christian conviction that all religious people shall be able to find fellowship in it. This effort also has many and gratifying examples.

The layman on the frontier. At best, multitudes of scattered peoples cannot hope to have an ordained pastor giving full time to his ministry living among them. It is an acute necessity of frontier evangelism, accordingly, that it develop lay leadership and pay especial attention to those simple forms of religious ministry and observance which laymen may conveniently operate. The frontier missionary must be skilled in developing the resident resources of the community. He will organize Sunday-schools, informal singing and praying groups, recreation, and all forms of community activity which are profitable

in the name of the Church; and he will show people how to keep up the active practise of religious fellowship even though "regular preaching" is only occasional.

"Hello, Central." The telephone is so nearly a universal vehicle of civilization that a definite type of religious ministry may well be devised along its lines. Country pastors already make large use of it. There is no reason why systematic evangelism may not be carried on over the wires. Bible lessons may be assigned, religious interviews held, or the call sent out to common prayer or song at a given hour. When an entire community is served by one denomination, the religious use of the local telephone exchange might easily be arranged. Actual fellowship as well as practical church business can thus be carried on together by widely separated people.

The correspondence church. The correspondence school is familiar to all. A modern counterpart of the epistles by which the apostles taught and held together the infant Church would seem to be found in the various phases of correspondence and extension instruction which schools and universities are using with tremendous success. Secular magazines conduct departments which elicit questions and answers from thousands of people from all corners of the country, and bind them together in the sense of belonging to a common organization. They never meet nor hear each other speak, but are united through the printed page. Carefully prepared material—pamphlets, books, pictures, stereopticon slides—are now sent out freely by educational institutions. But the possibilities of correspondence evangelism have been by no means fully canvassed by the churches, or the idea worked out on an adequate and sufficiently supported

scale! While all the functions of the Church cannot be met in this way, yet next to traveling incessantly, might not this be St. Paul's most likely method of service if he faced the problems of magnificent distance in our West.

The quality of frontier leadership. Just because the service of scattered people living in a discontinuous type of civilization is subject to such difficulties and irregularities and because it requires such novel methods, it must have a specially able, faithful, and efficient supervision. The Church must not stint the number or the expense accounts of those who follow up for it the wandering sheep of these thin pastures. Otherwise all its efforts are likely to become like the single trail obliterated by the shifting sands of the desert.

UNDER AVERAGE RURAL CONDITIONS

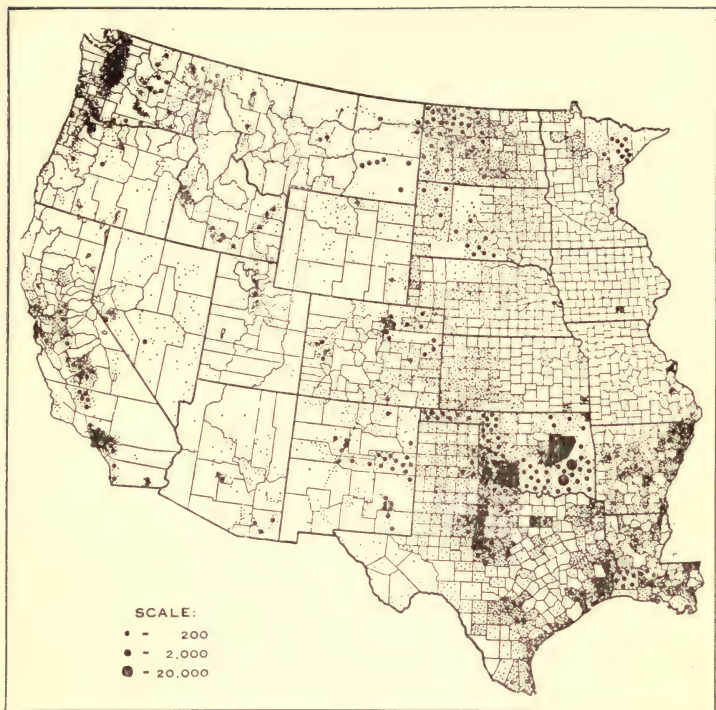
Distance problems of the central states. Where neither seas nor deserts divide, where fenced fields lie surrounded by fenced fields—they in turn surrounding towns and villages,—and where the entire pattern of the countryside is of this sort, the striking fact is revealed that frequently as large a proportion of land is occupied by unevangelized people as on the frontier. Looked at by itself, a thousand square miles of territory with no Christians in it, in a vast and mountainous Western county, is an amazing indictment of our civilization and of the faithfulness of the Church. But relatively this is no more of a problem, a reproach, or a menace to a Christian nation than a hundred square miles comprising a fifth or a sixth of the area of a thickly populated county in the Middle West. Here churches are everywhere

about, accessible to anyone, for the same amount of trouble that he takes to get to town for trading purposes. Yet nobody in these large fractions of the county's territory goes to church. Nevertheless it is too simple to say that such unevangelized people have only themselves to blame. One must rather investigate the laws of distance as related to the service rendered by associate institutions. How far ought people to have to come to church under such situations and with such facilities as characterize the corn belt from the Alleghanies to central Nebraska?

Measuring the church's reach. The church has to be more than physically accessible; it ought to be in such a place that men can reasonably go to it for social and religious fellowship and that its benefits can reach out to them. How far should they have to go, and how long should be the outreach of the church? The answer is found in discovering that the church is only one of the institutions to which men go; only one of the centers of his interest which have outreach toward him.

It will be found that the distance problems of the Church are closely related to the other goings and comings of men. Their distance habits are their response not to a single appeal but to the appeal of a number of agencies which render them service. Church-going and the outreach of the Church as an institution of religious ministry find their limit somewhere within the limits by which the habitual goings and comings of men are bounded. How far do they go and where do they go to satisfy their other fundamental social interests?

A typical illustration. Take a Michigan county familiar to the author: Its vital relations are not indicated nor so much as suggested by a mere map which locates every farm, every road, every store, every church, school,



World Survey (American Volume) Interchurch World Movement

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST

The dots of different size indicate the larger and smaller settlements made by rural people in new communities within a decade. While the West shows vast proportionate gains in population and large absolute increase, the day does not come appreciably nearer when most of this area shall cease to have the characteristics of a frontier.

or other social institution. For the practical purposes of the population and as the scene of their coming and going in social relationships, the county consists of eight civic centers or little towns each with a surrounding service area. These areas can be discovered with considerable accuracy by simply drawing lines connecting the homes of the remotest farmers who habitually trade at the town center. Their edges overlap because these remotest farmers have an equal choice of two or more towns at which to trade, to worship, or to go to the movies. They fluctuate to one or the other in response to competitive bids from town merchants, or ministers, or purveyors of amusements.

The boundaries of the eight natural communities are thus fluctuating, yet each has a permanent core, a territory in which some particular town's supremacy is unchallenged. The trade center is also the banking center, though to a somewhat larger area. The county newspaper zone is still larger than the banking zone, but the milk zone is smaller—because milk sours and the newspaper does not. It is well established that men will go farther to trade than they will to pray. On the whole for the perfectly good reason that when they go to pray, they want to take the whole family. The high school zones are still more extensive than any of the others, because less universally used by country people. These overlapping service-zones imposed one upon another, and the goings and comings of people within them for practical and personal relationships constitute actual rural communities.

The community we may roughly define as the area in which takes place the full exercise of the relationships which we have described above, but within which

also people tend to fall apart into groups and classes which do not fully mingle with one another. The neighborhood, the smallest social unit outside the family, is the area within which everybody knows and associates with everybody, and it retains great moral advantages and a certain social power.

Abandoned country churches. Surveys show that, taking village and large towns together, more than half of the farmers who attend church anywhere are likely to attend in larger centers. Many farmers will drive past one or more open-country churches and go six or ten miles to attend church in such a town. Many of the church buildings which these farmers pass are closed; the church organization is dead. The town's attraction has taken their following away and has been fatal to them.

A town is fatal to surrounding churches in proportion to its size. A large town has a larger killing range than a small one has. The Ohio rural life survey in thirty-one counties found two thirds of the churches arrested or dying while three fourths of the entire number of rural churches in that state were not growing. Town competition is but one factor in this result, but it is a large one.

The town's killing range greater than its service range. While the town church's tendency is to draw people to it, it does not draw all of the people who attended the open-country church. It draws enough to take away necessary support and to kill that church. Some, however, do not follow the majority to town because they are poor and do not have automobiles, because they do not feel socially at home in the town church, or because of sheer inertia. They are too old

to change their distance habits. This largely explains the presence of churchless folks within the most prosperous and Godly regions. The town's power of destruction has not been matched by an equal power of religious outreach in service.

Discreditable survivals. Some times the investigator finds an open-country church continuing to live while all the others of the area are dead. Before he begins to swing his hat in satisfaction, he needs to seek the explanation of this exception. Frequently the explanation is this: the town church of the denomination to which this country church belongs, is feeble and unprogressive. No sensible farmer will go far to worship in such a church or will willingly undertake the burdens of supporting it. Consequently, the open-country church of that particular denomination survives, while others die. Of course what survival means in this case is that there are two weak churches,—the one in the town not strong enough to kill the one in the country. Their combined strength is insignificant.

"Check mate." Sometimes there is a considerable area, perhaps an entire township of three or more hamlets with no natural center large enough to draw a community about it. Two of the hamlets may maintain two churches each and the third a single and larger church. All are essentially farmers' churches, and they do not vary greatly in strength. The result is that five feeble churches will probably continue indefinitely to divide the religious allegiance of the people.

The narrow neighborhood. The old neighborhood does not afford sufficient range for satisfactory human relationships. Twenty families such as used to constitute an average rural neighborhood, means twenty adult men

and twenty adult women as heads, a handful of old people, perhaps thirty infants and children, and twenty adolescents and unmarried men and women. These sex and age groups are too small either to afford a basis for organization or to furnish leadership or suitable companionship or matrimonial unions. There are not enough boys to make a ball team nor enough talent to supply it with a captain. For the same reason the enthusiastic corn club or canning club or Scout Troop is impossible. It is unlikely, with so slight a range of selection, that one can find a really first-class school director or a proper president for the farmer's club. School grading is impossible. There are not enough different kinds of temperaments among the boys and girls to afford companionship and stimulus for one another; nor enough men of like interests to undertake specialized enterprises depending upon a common fund of experience, like stock breeding; nor are there enough consumers to make any form of cooperation economical. And of all the men and women in the world, think of having only seven or eight of suitable age from whom to choose a husband or a wife. Yet this is literally but undertaking social life on a basis of too narrow a neighborhood means.

The lesson of school consolidations. The common tendency of legislation creating consolidated schools in the Middle West, seems to be an effort to gather about five hundred people into a neighborhood district. This means about a hundred families, and reflects the judgment of the prairie states that, with average road and transportation facilities, this is the smallest social unit which should be legally organized. Within this unit people may find range enough for rewarding social intercourse, and resources enough, both in finance and leader-

ship, for the support of rural institutions. Those living farthest from the neighborhood center will have to travel three or four miles to reach these privileges and they ought to be willing to do so.

If these three or four miles of travel bring people into a town they will ordinarily prefer to find still wider opportunities for fellowship and social satisfaction in the town institutions. If not, they will need to organize their open-country neighborhood. Just what institutions may they expect to operate successfully, and what scale and type of activities can they carry on within these limits? These are pertinent questions for the church, because the church, whether located in the town center or in the open country, will very largely be responsible for organizing the rural neighborhood.

The institutions of the rural neighborhood. Each neighborhood should have an elementary school.

It should have a farmer's club or similar organization, such as a grange, with strong emphasis upon the economic interests of farm women and girls as well as those of men; or else it should have a separate women's organization.

It should have some boys' and girls' agriculture clubs, combining, if possible, the motive of better farming with the organized appeal to the boy and girl nature and interests such as made by the Boy and Girl Scouts.

It should have a social center, a place of neighborhood sociability and recreation.

It should have a religious center, a Sunday-school, and some form of regular social meeting suitable for young and old. In such gatherings as these, the people of the neighborhood should carry on their more intimate religious activities without reference to creed.

When should the rural neighborhood have its own church? When the neighborhood will make itself large enough to support a church creditably, as when a single denomination has a large compact parish of five hundred or more of open-country people, it should have a church. When such a church can support a resident minister and a full round of church activities, it is fitted to be a permanent type of religious institution in America. Such a church will be an ornament to civilization, a power for better farming, a standard bearer in all aspects of better rural living, as well as a torch of God in the midst of men. But the rural church which is too small, which divides neighborhoods sectarianly, which cannot support itself nor have a resident pastor is none of these. It may have saints in it and be served at long range by devoted ministers, but it cannot build up rural America nor be a satisfactory permanent instrument either of civilization or of the life of God in the hearts of men. Furthermore, on the whole, it cannot survive.

Group solidarity. Another factor in the success of the open-country church, second only to that of sufficient size, is having a homogeneous or closely related population. When the rural neighborhood consists of kinsfolk, or of people of some distinct nationality or custom which separates them from others and which forms a barrier to their easy mingling with the people of the town or of other communities, they naturally hold together in such a way as to make church success easy. But this is success based on clannishness. Often it is at the expense of others who live in the midst of such a group. Its costs as well as its gains must be weighed.

It remains, however, that some of the best rural churches of America are those of people of foreign an-

cestry and speech. They succeed because they represent group solidarity along the lines of distinct nationality as well as because they have adequate size and support.¹

Relating rural areas to town churches. In the main, however, the prosperous farmer probably cannot be prevented from going to town to church. It remains, therefore, to perfect the methods of relating rural areas to town centers religiously. Where such centers exist, rural neighborhoods should be preserved for what they are worth, but not as locations for independent churches. On the other hand, the town church must systematically extend its reach until it really serves all the rural people within its natural area.

The remoter population of a trade area will never be sufficiently served by a town church which merely tries to draw people into itself. Certain activities, as we have seen, belong permanently to the neighborhood group. The town church must reach out and help provide these for its remoter members. If it will really work its trade area intensively, it can often make itself large enough to need and afford an assistant pastor specializing in rural service. Instead, however, of the old circuit with several independent charges, there will be one church occupying a town center and its several neighborhood centers through a common organization. Rural people have a right to ask rural service of the central church. It must not expect them to come as far to worship as they do to trade, unless it is willing in turn to secure for them the full development of the rural neighborhood.

Difficulties on account of denominationalism. Usually the town has several churches reaching out com-

¹ For example, see "A Rural Social Survey of Orange Township," Bulletin No. 184 of the Iowa State College, Rural Sociology Section.

petitively into the surrounding country. Rural neighborhoods cannot be developed on this plan. A single town church can help the farmer to develop his rural organizations, his club, his boys and girls work, his social and recreation center, while five would simply bungle the matter. To meet this difficulty and still to utilize the denominationalism, the author has developed as a theoretical ideal the Zone and Sector Plan. According to this plan each church at the center would accept exclusive responsibility for the organization and outreaching service in a definite sector of the town's trade area. Within this sector it would serve the various distance zones by different methods. It might transport all the people within a two mile radius to church in motor buses, just as children are brought to the consolidated school; while it would set up a separate Sunday-school for the more distant parts of its territory.

A concrete illustration. As applied to a Michigan county seat of three thousand people, the plan would work out as follows: the town's trade area is an ellipse, roughly sixteen miles long and ten miles broad. As indicated by the preponderant location of their rural constituents at present, the Methodists would naturally take the northern part of the area,—a sector of ninety degrees; to the Evangelicals would fall the eastern sector; to the Presbyterians, the southern; and to the Baptists, the western. This would give each town denomination a sector of ninety degrees radiating from the town center, but of varying depth. The stronger churches would thus undertake responsibility of somewhat larger areas. The country people coming to town to church would belong to and attend the services of the denomination of their choice. But when it came to outreaching service, to or-

ganized activity in the open country, and to the development of the neighborhoods, the responsibility would rest with a single church in each sector. This would be economical of labor, travel, and leadership. It would respect denominations and at the same time do away with divisive denominational competition in rural neighborhoods. Finally it would actually get the gospel and effective spiritual service to rural people as they have not been getting them. Such tendencies are now actually working themselves out and may in time permit the systematic organization of the Church to meet its distance problem as between the open country and the town center.

DISTANCE PROBLEMS OF LESS PROSPEROUS FARMERS

A survey of the church life of some forty thousand rural Negroes indicates that the Negro neighborhood consists of from twenty-five to fifty families cultivating small tracts of land and largely shut up to the country. Most of their small wants are supplied locally by the plantation store. They have little communication with other communities. Their farms are too small to support a family upon an American standard of living. Often from twelve to twenty-five families are trying to support a denominational church. This means competing churches even in the smallest neighborhoods, which cannot have anything but an ignorant, irregular, underpaid, absentee ministry.

On the other hand, a Negro community in eastern North Carolina strongly influenced by a mission school, shows the following conditions: its church buildings average surprisingly high as to their size, character, and upkeep; several of them accommodate five or six hundred

people each; they have galleries, neat pews, carpeted aisles, elaborate pulpit furniture, good organs, and considerable other equipment; memberships in these churches average from three to eight hundred each. One circuit of four churches has fourteen hundred and fifty members; another of five churches has four thousand members. Several very large farming areas within this region are owned entirely by Negroes. The majority, however, are tenants, and rather progressive and prosperous. One cannot avoid satisfaction and pride in such Negro churches as well as in their agricultural wealth and prosperity,—though here, as everywhere, there are plenty of things which need improvement. The particular weakness even of these strong rural churches is that practically all the ministers are non-resident. They live from twenty to fifty miles away and come only once a month to preach and take a collection. On the other Sundays the congregations visit around in some church that has service.

The special need of rural Negro people is to be organized into large enough communities to sustain their institutions. This is what the mission school tries to do. It gives resident leadership and teaches better farming. Prosperous farming, after all, is the only basis for a prosperous rural church. No amount of Christian benevolence can permanently carry the deficit caused by ignorant agricultural conditions. What is true with the Negro church is less strikingly true everywhere. It is the organization of the community economically and socially which is the secret of a successful working church.

Rural civilization on poor soils. A great circle of less favored agricultural lands encloses the corn belt and reaches out to the desert on the west. There is also the

northern pine belt with its thin soils. The attractiveness of parts of these regions to vacationists and summer residents more than offsets the deficiencies of the soils from the standpoint of financial returns. Since this section, however, cannot support a large permanent population, its communities consist largely of small and isolated places. Distance prevents the establishment of serviceable units for the support of religious institutions, especially when it is exaggerated by mountains.

Mountain communities. The extreme consequences of such isolating conditions are found among the highlanders of the southern mountains. Their fundamental tragedy is that many of them are trying to farm land which never ought to have been farmed, land incapable of sustaining a population in civilized decency. Whenever such an initial mistake is made it starts a vicious circle of social impoverishment. Farming which is unprofitable cannot pay for roads to get its scanty surplus to market. Without roads and markets social fellowship dwindles. Men become half-savage again. Without adequate social organization and some wealth neither good schools nor good churches are possible. Even the primary physical necessities such as a physician's services in sickness are often lacking for the mountain people. Let struggle for a poor living, isolation, and bad health go on for years, and a permanently discouraged type of folks develops. They have the invariable marks of the under-nourished and under-developed, a craving for excessive stimulants, physical and emotional. Hence the moonshine and over-wrought revivalism of mountain tradition.

Missions may wonderfully alleviate these evils as brave and brotherly physicians and nurses reinforce the old

forces of the school and church. But the fundamental remedy lies in the better adjustment of the people to their environment. Profitable industries and a suitable type of farming are possible in many communities. The timber and mineral resources of the mountains are bringing more money into the country. The most strategic efforts of missions are those which stimulate and cooperate with these processes, which lead in road building, encourage agricultural fairs and boys and girls' clubs, and nourish the life of fellowship by community organization, besides overcoming discouragement and moral inertia by a quickening faith.

At best, the mountaineer has a long, up-hill pull. Religious statistics roughly measure the degree of his handicap. In Knott County, for example, only 8.3 per cent of its people are church members, while the average for Kentucky is 43.3 per cent.

Similar conditions exist in such great and prosperous commonwealths as Pennsylvania. In the midst of unparalleled industrial development, the coves and pockets of the hills divide people up into mere fragments of population incapable of complete community life. Pike County had but 21.6 per cent of its people in the churches in 1910 as over against 53.7 per cent for the state at large. That the religious and mental life is deficient is due almost wholly to the isolation caused by the presence of mountains and the absence of transportation. Some of these people are miners, others are farmers. Railroads run to carry coal, but not to carry people. Just over the mountains may lie a prosperous town, but during much of the year the mountains cannot be crossed. A Pennsylvania county thus located has over two hundred one-room school buildings with very low educational stand-

ards. Consolidation of schools and centralization of churches are alike almost impossible. Methods of evangelization very like those of the frontier thus become necessary for people actually living but a few miles apart.

THE DISTANCE PROBLEMS OF THE CITY CHURCH

Cities have largely solved their distance problems by rapid transit. In almost every city, however, there are many gaps in the mechanism of transportation. Neighborhoods of poor, and negligible people are often unserved or shut away from easy access to transportation lines by barriers of railroads, factory districts, or rivers. Surveys have uncovered tragic examples of this sort.

Or again, cities may push out too ambitiously. People buy property in the suburbs in the hope that transportation facilities will follow; but they never come. Fragmentary communities are thus left stranded, too weak to support their own church, too far away to attend another. Still again, a population shifts suddenly and churches move away with them. But just as in the country, there is always left a residuum of people who cannot get away. Their church may then be many blocks distant.

The city Christian's duty to the near-by church. As was the case in the country, one of the chief distance problems of the city concerns the relation of Christian men to their home neighborhoods. Transportation facilities make it easy for them to get away to central institutions. But what is the Christian man's duty to the church near him? It is easy to take the street car to the larger church of his own choice several miles away, but almost next door to him is located a struggling church, perhaps of another denomination. Does he owe nothing

to neighborhood—the thing which the city so sorely lacks? Does just living next to people give them no claim upon a man's heart and soul? Is it selfishness for a man to go out of his near-by district—and for the distant church to urge him to come to it—to the exclusion and neglect of neighborhood ties?

On the other hand, we have not asked the farmer to limit himself to his neighborhood when the town church is accessible. We have rather devised for him a form of church organization which shall give him two centers. The city man must have the same option. Some form of Christian fellowship must be found which shall enable geographical parishes to be worked with the backing of all Christian forces resident in them, while at the same time the Christian man exercises the larger choice of religious and cultural fellowship which the city affords.

The suburbanite's responsibility to the city. Another phase of the same problem concerns the suburban dweller who escapes from the city to a country residence and goes back and forth to work. Does he therefore escape moral responsibility for the city where he gains the wealth necessary to support a suburban home?

Home missions in its city phase has not yet gone very far in organizing programs based on these principles. Both the placing and developing of churches and the relations of Christians to them must be thought out in terms of distance. Denominational considerations enormously complicate the problem. Along the lines suggested, however, there is a gradual movement of the church tending to place adequate service within reasonable reach of all the people. Some day, in every place, prayer will be made and a pure offering, and “the earth be full of the knowledge of Jehovah as the waters cover the sea.”

CHAPTER THREE

MANKIND ON THE MOVE

Home Missions and the Problem of Transience

Once in a lonely mood Jesus mentioned the tragedy of his lot as a homeless man. "Foxes have holes and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." Jesus and his apostles were itinerants, but the Church which bears the name of Christ has instinctively molded itself upon the needs of settled folks living in fixed communities. It is, therefore, peculiarly bewildered and helpless before the extraordinary mobility of man in this changing age. It has almost no apt and effective method of serving the millions of homeless men who are a product of and a permanent fact in modern civilization.

Mankind on the move. The broad facts about the transience of men in modern society may be briefly summarized. Millions of immigrants move from hemisphere to hemisphere; other millions shift from country to city. The lines of migration are subject to sudden and revolutionary change. Thus, with the cessation of European immigration during the World War came the sudden spread over practically the whole country of two groups previously highly localized. The Negro invaded all the chief industrial sections of the nation, and the Mexican became the low-grade laborer of the whole area of the West beyond the Mississippi. Such sudden continental expansions of the habitats of a people are unparalleled. Equally so is the rapid growth of new industrial communities gathering up their people from the ends of the

earth; also the startling appearance of new cities within cities, as witness the Negro communities of New York and Chicago, now the largest concentrations of people of this race ever gathered on earth. All these are signs of human transience at a rate with which religious institutions, and equally all other functions of civilization, find it impossible to keep up. Kaleidoscopic change characterizes the most stable elements of population as well as the newest.

Half of the tenant farmers of America do not stay in one locality through a second year. Yet two thirds of the farmers of America own their own homes, while only one third of the city people own theirs.

In the panorama of city life is the constant moving of city people from apartment to apartment. The average church in the city witnesses a "procession" of such people. Entirely new congregations must be got together every few years. Family churches are a rarity in the city. One pastor reports over three thousand churches in membership in a thirteen-year pastorate.

Because, however, transience is inevitable in our civilization, because it is not altogether bad, and because those who suffer most from it deserve sympathetic understanding and constructive treatment, it is important to study the typical migrant and to follow the movements of the chief migratory groups each with his special problem.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRANT PROBLEM

Migrants are by-products of seasonal industries. These periodic fluctuations in industry are due to three

main causes. First, there is Nature herself. Grain must be harvested when it ripe. The diagram on page 59 shows the fluctuation in labor demand on a typical farm. Multiply these figures by the hundreds of thousands of farms in the United States and it is easy to understand why a quarter of a million migrants are needed annually in the grain belt alone.

In the second place, there is the seasonal demand for goods. For example, straw hats could be manufactured twelve months in the year, but since they are worn only in warm weather, we find more than twice as many people employed in this occupation in February than in July.

Finally, there is the problem of human nature. After a man becomes accustomed to temporary employment, he may refuse steady work, or any job at all for that matter ; but usually he starts his life of vagrancy through necessity rather than choice.

The problem of the migrant is of fundamental national importance since our more basic industries depend on such labor.

The hobo. The migratory worker who furnishes so much of the labor for these industries is called a hobo or tramp. Fundamentally he is not a man who will not work, but rather one whose method of working is not understood by most of the people who see him. He has the habit of work in a certain round of jobs which he understands. He can make more money in them than in any other way that he knows. He is also greatly needed in them. Indeed, without him they would have to stop. Very likely they are short-season opportunities to which he is hurrying as fast as he can, or for which he

is waiting. All three of the above considerations are in his mind when he declines the odd job so frequently offered him. He is worth more in industry than you are willing to pay. Furthermore, he will be welcome there. He is in a hurry; or, for perfectly sound reasons, he is waiting for a real opportunity such as is open to his class—an opportunity very much better than the scrap of work that you offer for your convenience.

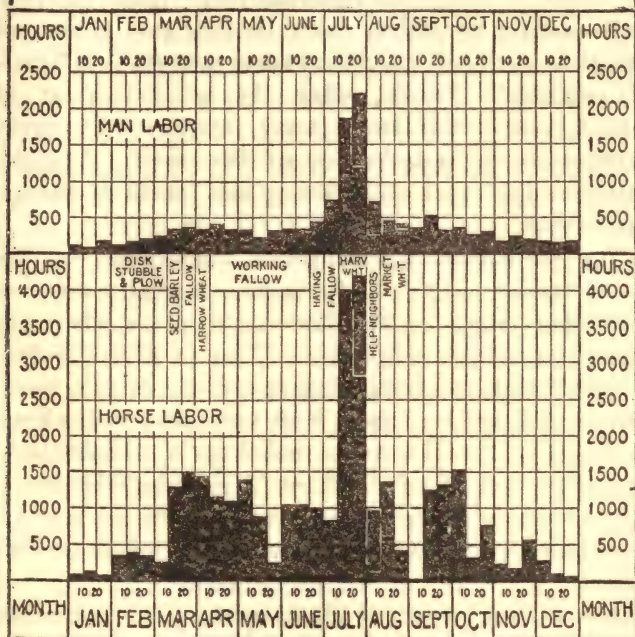
This is the solemn truth about the migratory worker as a type. There are exceptions—unemployables and criminals; but they prey upon the hobo exactly as they do upon the other producing classes.

The inferno of unemployment. These generalizations refer to average American conditions in average times. Of course in times of long-continued unemployment, large numbers of formerly sound working men become demoralized and utterly desperate. This constitutes a tragedy for which the individual is not to blame. Even under normal conditions, however, there is an army of some millions of necessary casual laborers. By reason of their type of life they are all in great danger of moral and physical degeneracy. While some are going down, others are going up. As a mass they are devoid of neither morals, intelligence, social capacity, nor a certain culture. They are at once an American necessity, an American peril, and an American asset.

Following the harvest. Turning now to the great industrial migrations, we are prepared in view of our previous glance at agriculture to realize that no type of industry is more responsible for developing the transient labor type. None is more acutely dependent upon short-time labor. The colossal example of this is the harvest in the big grain belt.

WINTER WHEAT REGION

SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR
ON AN
800 ACRE WHEAT AND SUMMER FALLOW FARM
WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON



World Survey (American Volume) Interchurch World Movement

Sources and movements of harvest labor. The big grain belt, where nearly three fifths of the nation's total supply is produced, is a great empire stretching from northern Texas to Canada. Here wheat is the chief product. Over much of this area it tends to exclude all other money crops.

The harvest migration, which begins in Texas, moves northward at about 100 miles per week. The labor army, first mobilized from Southern lumber camps, oil fields, and farms, is reinforced continually by "labor vacationists"—factory operatives from farthest east who come to work in the harvest fields as some men go on a "loafing vacation." Finally, when the wheat harvest of Kansas is ripe, this entire army, reinforced by every available recruit, attacks one of the country's biggest short-time jobs, that of gathering one fourth of the nation's wheat.

After the Kansas wheat harvest, the demand for migratory workers is greatly decreased. A small number of the workers stay for the threshing in areas where the crops have been harvested. Those who "follow through" with the harvesting operations as they move northward have to compete with new labor forces from the farms of the Northwest and from the lumberjacks and mine workers of northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan. Some of the more persistent migrant workers, however, follow the harvest operations far into Canada.

Outstanding factors of the harvest. The conclusions of an investigator who followed the harvest for the Interchurch World Movement are:

1. The uncertainties of finding profitable employment are great. The number of migrants needed in any grain

state or in the grain belt as a whole will naturally vary from year to year with crop conditions, and nobody is in position to say with any accuracy in advance just what the demand may be.

2. The time at which the wheat harvest will begin in a given region is very indefinite. The chart on page 63 shows the course of the harvest date lines as established by the Department of Agriculture over a series of years. Within the expected dates, however, there will occur all manner of local variations. Thus, the 1919 harvest found wheat cutting in Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota all at the same time. The weather plays similar tricks every year.

3. Local wages fluctuate very greatly. Because of the uncertainty of time and season, it is impossible adequately to regulate the flow of men into the harvest fields. As a result, certain areas may have three or four times the supply of labor needed, while an adjoining region may be practically without migrant hands. This fact, coupled with the prevalent labor agreement, which is full of uncertainties and opportunities for misunderstanding, causes great differences in wages to prevail throughout the grain belt.

4. It is the nature of harvest work that there should be much time lost from weather conditions, from waits between jobs, and from time consumed in traveling. As the men in the harvest fields are paid by the hour, these delays are of great importance.

As the harvesters demobilize, one stream of men turns southwestward and seeks employment in mining and railroad construction or in agricultural work in the sugar-beet fields and fruit areas, even going as far as the Pacific coast. A larger number work their way south,

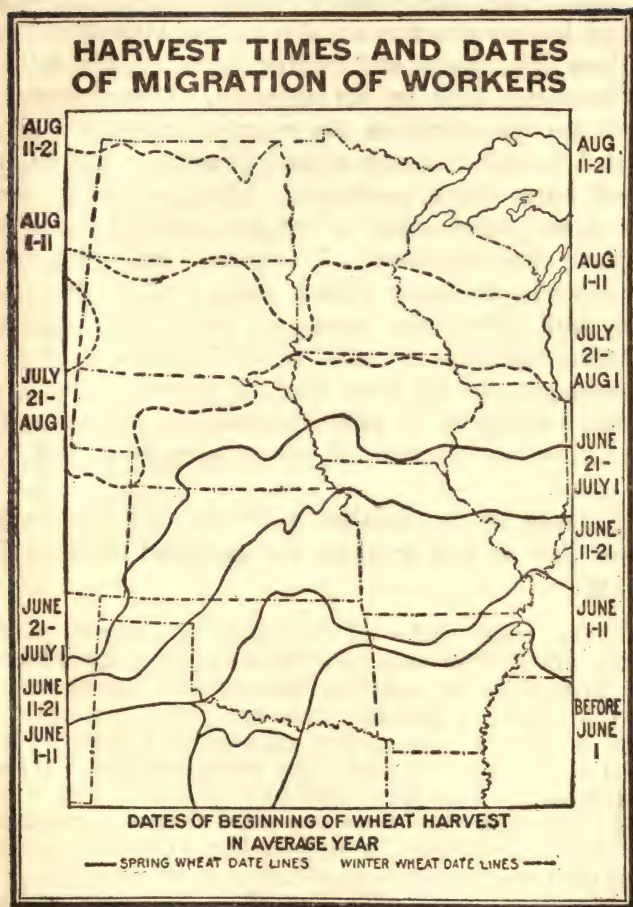
turning to mining and lumbering or continuing agricultural work as pickers.

Construction work. The migrant who has worked in the harvest in the summer and who for the winter will go to the woods as a lumberjack may work between seasons on railway, highway, or other construction work. In the *Hobo News* (March, 1920) a writer who signs himself "One of Them" gives a vivid picture of the life of the "gandy dancers"—the hobo name for railroad track workers.

The camp consists of strings of old and dilapidated cars with leaky roofs and broken floors, with big cracks in the walls. From ten to sixteen men bunk in cars so low that a tall man cannot stand up straight. There are no baths, no wash-rooms, and in many camps not even a toilet. In the eastern part of the country blankets are furnished, but they are never sent to the laundry or cleaned, passed on year after year from man to man, many who have used them being consumptive or syphilitic. Lice and other vermin are always plentiful. In the summer a man could take an empty can and go out and "boil up" his clothes, by building a fire in the open, and thus secure for a night or two an undisturbed sleep. But in the winter deep snow and scarcity of firewood make this impossible.

Since these conditions are fairly well known among migratory workers, they will ship out for such jobs only as a last resort. Railroad companies furnish free transportation, but most of the jobs have to be bought from employment sharks; fees rise with the amount of unemployment.

Improved conditions. It is gratifying to point out that progressive railroads are abandoning conditions like these. They are building model camp cars and paying careful attention to sanitation. Yet no one who has observed the average living quarters of railroad laborers



on construction work would call them either inviting or elevating. The better class of contractors on highway or aqueduct construction are also making improvements. On long jobs, camps with electric lights, shower baths, and recreation halls are not unknown. These improvements are due chiefly to the recent shortage of labor, which has made it a part of enlightened self-interest to afford better living conditions. They are partly due also to the organization of the men enabling them to demand such conditions. Progressive legislation has compelled improvement in such states as California and New York. Here labor camps are under rigid scrutiny and have both sanitary and industrial inspection by the government. On the other hand, all the evils which the unknown writer of the above quotation pictures can still be matched in hundreds of camps throughout most of the states.

Migrants in the lumber industry. The enormous proportions of this industry are suggested by the following:

In the seven states of Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, and Arizona there are more than six hundred incorporated logging companies. Some companies have ten 'sides' or camps; some only one. The number of men in a camp varies from fifty to one thousand. But averaging three sides to each company and sixty men to a side, it is conservatively estimated that there are 109,000 men engaged in the logging industry in the Pacific Northwest alone. This does not take into consideration 1,700 odd mills and innumerable shingle mills located in the same region, which employ over 120,000 men.

Think what an area of forest this army of men can cut down in a year! Generally it will cost more to clear

the land of stumps than it is worth. So it is simply abandoned; while the industry and its workers move on to make wreck of other virgin tracts.

In the mill towns. Here is found a limited permanence. So long as it is economical to haul timber to a given center, that center will remain as the site of a lumber mill even though the actual logging operations are remote. It may last five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years. Possibly the town will survive as a rural or manufacturing center after the lumbering industry has passed. But no one is sure that this is going to happen. The mill town has no certain future. Churches are founded timorously. Schools are erected, but on a tentative scale. Children are born only to absorb the atmosphere of impermanence. When one is so unsure of the future he does not dare to invest much either in business, institutions, or a home.

The loggers. So much for the lumber community as a whole. The active migrants of the industry are found characteristically among the loggers,—the men concerned with the actual cutting down of the forest and the shipping of logs to the mill to be made into lumber. Logging camps are generally remote from any community life or interest. No women live in them except one or two connected with the kitchen. The work is peculiarly arduous and dangerous. The men, beyond almost all other groups of workers, are aggressively radical in social sentiment. Many are professed revolutionists. They look upon the churches as capitalistic and upon ministers as parasites. The logging camps are among the chief strongholds of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Before the war the relations between the men and the companies were acutely strained. The companies were

ruling turbulent men with an iron hand. The industry was on a ten-hour basis, too long a stretch of work in the woods. The bunk houses were often unfit for human habitation. Wages were unsatisfactory and there was too much blacklisting and locking out in addition to seasons of unemployment. The men were not allowed the slightest right to organize. The policy of the companies was to employ unmarried men and to encourage a migratory body of labor. Unfortunate abuses by employment agencies aggravated the situation.

Old roots of bitterness. Most of these old abuses have now been corrected by progressive operators. Camp housing is greatly improved. The working day is shortened. Sanitation is reasonably provided. Even in the logging camps there is an increased proportion of married men. Cheap automobiles have made it possible for them to go back and forth to their families and to come in contact with towns and recreation. In recent years a small corps of lumber chaplains has been sustained in the Pacific Northwest by the cooperating missionary boards and supervised by an interdenominational committee. During the summer of 1920 a group of theological students from Eastern schools was sent to Washington for work as lumberjacks, in order that they might understand the timber worker's problem from the inside, and mingle on equality with the men. The experiment was so successful that its continuation is proposed. At best, however, the attack of the Church upon the problem has been most feeble. Surveys showed but few local churches which seemed to feel it any part of their Christian duty to minister to the lumberjack even when he worked within their geographical parishes. Much bitterness remains in the hearts of workers. The problem

of labor organization is still fiercely contested. The future of the industry, with its imminent prospect of returning unemployment, is dark from the worker's standpoint.

Lights and shadows of the Christmas tree. Do you who gather with happy-faced children under the glow of the Christmas tree ever stop to imagine where the city gets its enormous necessary supply? Since the near-by farm supply has been exhausted, Christmas trees are increasingly cut by gangs of transient workers recruited from the streets of the city. These men are shipped by contractors to the northern woods. The time for work is so brief that the contractor cannot afford expensive camp facilities and the men are quartered and fed under the crudest of conditions. They lead a rude and almost animal life while performing an office which will later be hallowed by a million of happy hearts. Somewhere within the deep shadows of the tree the imagination may see lurking the wistful and broken spirits of these homeless wanderers, to whom peace on earth is at best an empty word.

The war and the migrant. All studies based upon migratory labor as it existed before the war are now entirely unsatisfactory and are so accounted by the most competent authorities. The three or four years ending with the summer of 1920 marked the elevation of the entire migratory class and the practical elimination of the hobo. This was realized by all who understand the problem, but was none the less a stupendous surprise to them. What had seemed permanent and inevitable proved subject to change under new conditions.

Investigation showed that something very radical had happened in all the chief haunts of the migratory worker.

In Kansas City, Sioux City, Chicago, and Minneapolis the same story was heard: the migratory worker does not do the things he used to do, does not live as he used to live, does not make the same demands upon agencies which tried to help him.

What happened was symbolized by the passing of the "Bowery Bread Line" in New York City. In the well-equipped "Helping Hand" building in Kansas City most of the dormitories which used to be crowded with homeless men were closed; many of the cheap lodging houses formerly inhabited by wandering men were abandoned. In the Salvation Army industrial homes in city after city were found only a few old men.

A typical statement of the case from a local standpoint was found in the 1918 report of the Lincoln (Nebraska) Welfare Society: "In Lincoln, the non-resident single men applying for aid to the society in 1915 were 1,756; in 1917, 437; and in 1918, 136."

This did not mean that there was any reduction in the demand for seasonal labor; but only that the jobs had been so numerous and so close together that the whole begging and stealing element in the migratory class disappeared, together with many of the institutions and activities which its presence necessitated.

Improved economic conditions. These facts revealed the fundamental economic character of the problem. Four or five years of steady work at good wages elevated the migrant class. Coincident with this came the development of social agencies and reforms, such as the employment service, housing and sanitary improvements, and prohibition. All these helped the upward tendency. Probably the most potent factor of all was the new motive for better living which was furnished the migrant.

Before the war he doubted, and often with reason, whether society had any decent place for him or any serious demand for his services. During the war he learned that every man was greatly needed. The peremptory "work or fight" order made him realize that he really counted in the world. Unquestionably the migrant showed a full measure of war patriotism. The breast of many a harvest hand was spangled with Liberty Loan and Red Cross buttons, and a large number went into harvest work with the definite consciousness that they were serving their country in a time of need.

This gave the migrant not only a new individual motive but put a new social motive into the class as such, and develop a new capacity for class loyalty.

The new status. The migrant reached a new and higher level of existence as a result of the war. Plenty of work at good wages has enabled him to attain better standards of living. Institutional reforms have helped him to retain them. Government propaganda has given him a new sense of his social value. As a result, this group has developed class loyalty and a certain capacity for organization.

Danger of reaction. These are real and striking gains, but they are rapidly being lost as the process which helped to create them is reversed. There is a vast permanent demand for seasonal labor. Such labor at best yields a very narrow margin of profit. It is difficult—for many, impossible—to find continuous seasonal work. The experience through which the migrant must go creates a serious inclination in him to acquire the permanent habit of seasonal labor. Now all these tendencies have become doubly powerful by the widespread presence of unemployment. Most labor experts expect a return to

old hobo conditions. It is most important, therefore, to inquire whether some, at least, of the gains of the immediate past cannot be kept. Is it necessary or inevitable for the migrant labor class to slump back into previous conditions?

Exploiting the migrant. If society has reason to fear the migrant, he certainly has greater reason to fear society. As a transient, without the backing of a fixed home and community or of a well-knit organization, it is hard for him to protect himself. Every agency with which he has anything to do tends to exploit him. The farmer, the private employment agencies, the railroads, the local officials and police fall into an anti-social attitude toward him. The unscrupulous employer uses the seasonal worker as a strike-breaker, but with no intention of incorporating him permanently in his industry. The ward politician buys his vote at election for partisan ends. Thus society deals with him. Besides, there is a horde of purely parasitic forces which prey on him. Drinking, gambling, and prostitution are the forms of amusement in the lodging-house districts which he is compelled to frequent. Prohibition and a general clean-up of the cities have greatly bettered living conditions, but a large proportion of seasonal laborers are relieved of their savings as soon as they reach the city. Besides, gamblers and hold-up men follow the harvest work systematically and prey upon these workers. These forces unite to pull down men already demoralized by the conditions under which they are compelled to live.

Exclusion from citizenship. Unfortunately, also, society has made it almost impossible for the migrant to improve his condition through political means, since our existing voting laws practically disenfranchise him. As

John Spargo has put it: "This we do indirectly, but effectively, by making the right to vote, in national as well as local elections, dependent upon residential qualifications which the migratory worker can rarely meet. A fixed residence for a definite period of time, personal appearance for registration on fixed dates in order to vote, forfeiture of the right to vote as a result of moving within certain periods of time, even in pursuit of employment—these are the devices which make our migratory workers a disenfranchised class, a proletariat of a peculiarly helpless kind. He is as effectively excluded from the actual electorate as if he were a Chinese coolie, ignorant of our customs and our speech."

One of the most effective means of combating radicalism among these groups would be to give these men the ballot in fact as well as in theory.

Other legislative remedies. Recommendations submitted by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations included the development of employment agencies on a national basis such as actually took place during the war; legislation providing for cheap railroad fares for workers traveling under the direction of the public employment service; establishment of workingmen's hotels in all large cities and suitable accommodations for transients of this class elsewhere; and, finally, the establishment of tramp colonies to re-train and re-educate such habitual vagrants as can be made safe for return to society and to keep the permanently unfit from being a burden and menace to others by permanent segregation.

There should also be general revision of vagrancy laws on the basis of present knowledge, so that the legal oppression of migrants may be mitigated. Further legislation ought to be enacted to protect migrant laborers from

fraud and injustice. Finally, sanitary laws and lodging-house regulation should be improved in the light of our new knowledge.

Continuous employment. But none of these things touch the heart of the matter. Rather than to suffer the burdens of inevitable winter unemployment to be visited on a large number of seasonal workers, to say nothing of general unemployment in times of industrial depression, it is at least fair to question whether society would not be wiser to devise an artificial demand for labor at such times through the undertaking of such public works as the construction of national highways, the reclamation of agricultural lands, or important civic improvements.

The risk of degradation through unemployment is certainly too heavy for the individual to carry alone. It might well be shared by society through some form of unemployment insurance. This would carry the worker over from job to job without loss of labor capacity or self-respect.

Vocational guidance. Inasmuch as the migrant army includes a very large number of young men or others who are definitely seeking to improve their conditions,—and with fair hope of succeeding,—it is highly important that vocational guidance be extended to the workers in it. About one third of the harvest migrants report themselves as farmers, and another third as laborers. On the agricultural side such guidance should hold before young men opportunities for agricultural education and should present to all who are seeking a permanent place in agriculture the opportunity of securing a farm and working into farm ownership and stable citizenship. The most natural method of securing this end is a system of public employment offices which would hold before the



THE MIGRANT WORKER AND HIS PROBLEM

As a transient, without the backing of a fixed home and community or a well-knit organization, it is hard for him to protect himself. Every agency tends to exploit him.

worker the prospect of permanent opportunities in life as well as the next day's job.

Christian forces at work. In this entire field of the migratory workers the religious forces are scattered and handicapped. From any statesman-like point of view it may be said to be an untouched field. The Church has never attempted to deal adequately with the problem of labor migration. There have been certain notable exceptions,—a few rescue missions which have been wonderfully successful in dealing with the men of this class. A striking example is the Union City Mission in Minneapolis. The club operated by this organization is conducted on as high a level as those run for soldiers during the war. The lodging and rooming accommodations are beyond reproach. Morgan Memorial in Boston is another model mission. This institution, under efficient direction, provides for all of the needs—physical, mental, and moral—of transient men. Missions of this type, however, are very exceptional. The majority are characteristically under-manned and inadequately equipped. Many are painfully lacking in sanitary equipment.

The worst feature is the lack of Christian cooperation. Mission competes with mission. As a result the "pan-handler" is able to "make the rounds," as he calls it. He goes from one mission to another, getting aid from each. As there is no cooperation between them, there is no possibility of knowing what the other organizations are doing for him.

Lack of denominational church supervision is another serious defect in the present system. A few missions are directly operated by responsible denominations, and an even larger number are subsidized by them; but the majority are free-lance organizations. What is needed is an

organization to get behind the competing enterprises and bring order out of chaos. The advantage of united action is demonstrated by the efficiency of the Salvation Army. No single agency working with migrants in our cities is as well known or as effective as the Army. It frequently follows these men into small centers where it is practically the only philanthropic agency which pays any attention to them. Its methods may not approve themselves entirely to other philanthropic societies or to organized religion, but it has done better than any other agency, largely because it has been nationally organized.

Proposed service for migrants. Besides solving the purely economic problems, there is a field for voluntary activity in meeting some of the immediate needs of migrant men. These needs are best met by Christian kindness expressed through personal contacts. It must be understood that such activities, while fundamental from the standpoint of the individual, are palliative rather than preventive with respect to the problem as a whole. They must not be substituted in thought or in fact for any of the deeper-lying measures which it is the duty of enlightened public opinion to demand and of the state to work out.

A fundamental service to be performed by the Church is to provide these men with non-commercial and friendly resource while waiting between seasons and between jobs. Almost everything which it has been necessary to do for the soldier in travel, in camp, and at leisure ought to be done for the migrant worker.

The World War has shown numerous examples of welfare service in which voluntary philanthropic agencies cooperated with the army. Exact methods have been developed; a successful technique has been discovered, and,

most important, a strong body of Christian workers has been educated. Even the necessary equipment is at hand. All these may be capitalized for the benefit of the migrant workers.

The methods of this welfare service will naturally have to vary from community to community. Sometimes food, shelter, recreation, reading and writing material, clinic or hospital service would need to be supplied. The direction of the service would be in the hands of the minister, chaplain, or other Christian worker; and its success would be in proportion to their tact, efficiency, and genuine brotherliness.

A promising experiment. At the suggestion of the Interchurch World Movement the Extension Department of the Kansas Agricultural College undertook to promote welfare service for harvest migrants during the summer of 1920. The plan was presented to the National Farm Labor Exchange representing the state Labor Departments of the Grain Belt States. This body heartily approved it, and it was carried out with varying success in a number of places.

How they did it in Larned. The most conspicuous success is reported from Larned, Kansas. The County Farm Bureau agent and one of the local pastors cooperating, secured the backing of the town government, Business Men's Association, and the county commissioners, together with the various church organizations. By the 15th of July harvest indications were so urgent that the county was calling for one thousand men. From the 17th a week of cool weather followed which delayed the harvest for nearly ten days and piled up a surplus of unemployed men in Larned. This would have created a serious situation, as always, but for the welfare service.

An improvised harvest center. A large room in the County Court House was improvised into a recreation room. Tables, chairs, stationery, reading matter, and games were provided; also a piano, organ, and phonograph. Large signs invited the men to "Feel at home"; also to "Ask for stationery and write home." Over five thousand sheets of letter paper were actually used. A county nurse treated the men for minor ailments. All available rooming places being more than filled, the harvesters were allowed to sleep in the room or anywhere. For more than a week every night saw the tables, chairs, and the floor of the office and halls covered with sleeping men. Farm papers and other magazines brought in by the people of Larned for reading matter by day were used for bedding by night. An entertainment was furnished every evening, usually consisting of singing and readings. The talent was furnished by the young people of the churches, under the leadership of the pastors. As many as three hundred men attended these programs, and they were joined by a number of the townspeople. On Sundays, religious services were held in the recreation room, with very attentive and appreciative audiences. As one man expressed it to the minister, "This shortens our faces."

Helpful contacts in the open country. As the men scattered into the surrounding territory for actual harvest work, they did not forget the good treatment they had received in Larned. Sunday services in near-by churches drew them in such numbers that a local minister said, "Without doubt we have the privilege of preaching to larger congregations in the harvest season than at any other time of the year. Is that not worth the effort?"

Favorable testimonies. Looking back upon the experience, the mayor and local newspapers of Larned are pronounced in their expressions of satisfaction. The county agent says the welfare service "is the best thing that has ever been offered in Larned to keep the men content while waiting for work." The appreciation of the men may be judged from the following extracts from a letter sent back to Larned by one of the strangers to whom these courtesies had been extended:

We certainly appreciate the kindness shown us by the young ladies to come and entertain a bunch of strangers and rough-necks as they did Tuesday night. I have tramped from coast to coast, but have never been in a community where they treat harvest hands as they do in Larned, Kansas. They sure try to make one feel at home. . . . Larned, Kansas, is on the top round of the ladder when it comes to welcoming harvest hands.

I don't want to forget to thank the county agent and his associates in the office for their kindness.

There are probably two hundred centers in the big grain belt where a similar work could profitably be carried out by the local churches and community.

STUDENT MIGRANTS

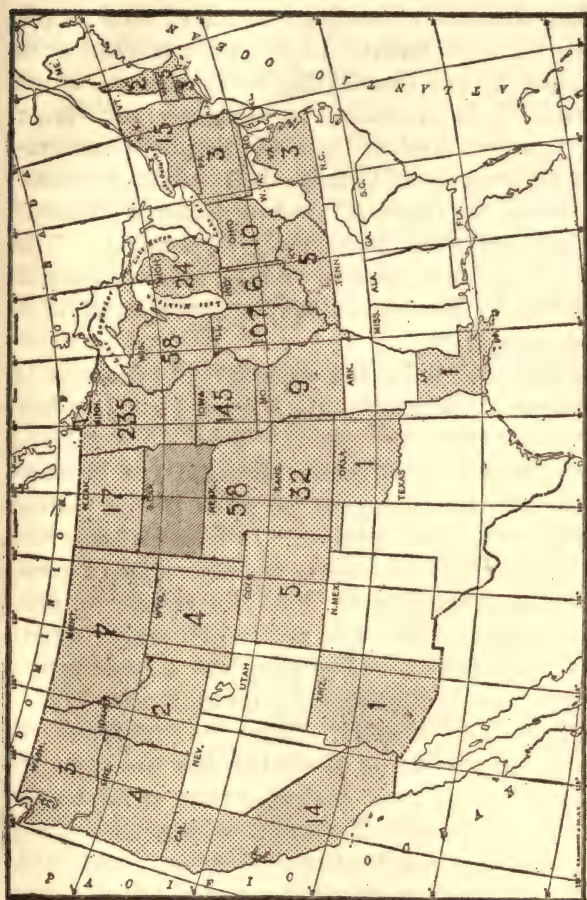
From the lumberjack carrying his worldly possessions in a pack or the migrant Polish family following the fruit and oyster seasons it may seem a far cry to the thronging student bodies of the great American colleges and universities. In social classification, however, they belong together; both are groups impermanently related to the community. Their problems are originally problems of transience.

Phenomenal growth of the student army. In sheer bulk the student bodies of America are coming to reach surprising proportions. Though but one child in one thousand ever gets through college, the absolute number of college students increases by leaps and bounds. It now constitutes an army of 325,000, according to the United States Bureau of Education. If the same rate of increase pertains as since the war, there will not be less than 580,000 college students by 1925. In no single group of people of the same size has civilization so much at stake. No other group has so much money spent upon it, no other is so important for the future of the state.

Short residence the rule. The average residence of the student in a school community is by no means the length of the course he is supposed to be pursuing. Of the numbers who start, relatively few finish. Exact statistics are lacking. In the large, however, the situation presents, not a group of students "taking college courses," but students going and coming and engaged with the fragments of courses. Some move to other institutions; the majority drop out along the way. It is, therefore, for a relatively brief period that society has to relate the average student to a community of any sort.

The geography of student migration. The diagram on page 79 shows a typical annual migration of South Dakota students. It does not tell how long they stayed, but suggests how strikingly the best wealth of that state is scattered up and down the nation during the most impressionable period of human life.

Christian education in urban and public institutions. The "Christian college" is the historic expression of the Church's service for the transient student. As a matter of fact, however, the religious people of America are not



Council of Church Boards of Education

SOUTH DAKOTA STUDENT MIGRATION

Seven hundred and eighty-eight college undergraduates are studying at eighty-eight institutions in other states in numbers indicated. The entire people of the area which supports or patronizes a college must take a constructive and responsible attitude toward organizing student life.

now educating the majority of their youth in colleges of the type thus described.

Coincident with the tremendous shifting of rural people to cities has come the transfer of education to cities or to larger student bodies constituting in themselves urban communities. It is impossible to assimilate such large masses of transient students into the complex communities within which they are located. It is practically necessary, therefore, to organize student interests through agencies and institutions particularly for students. The student transient class, in other words, creates a social problem which is best served by the development of a specialized community.

Who is responsible for the student? Adolescence is itself transience. The student age is brief, just as student residence in a college community is brief. The care of the choicest flower of American manhood and womanhood during this time becomes far more than a matter of local and institutional concern. In large measure the future of civilization is at stake in the experience of these years. The problem is larger than can be met by university authorities. The entire people of the area which supports or patronizes a college must take a constructive and responsible attitude toward organizing student life.

Christian student centers. From the standpoint of the Church, the organizing of student life has come to mean the creation of great student centers at the larger colleges and universities. Such centers must be created and maintained by widespread constituencies. They are a definite part of the home missionary responsibility of the Church at large. They cannot be ministered to adequately by local churches or from a local point of view. When it is considered that some single public institutions

cost more to maintain than fifty denominational colleges, it will be recognized that such an enterprise as a student center cannot be carried on on an ordinary or meager scale. It must be in keeping with the institutions of which it is a part. It is manifest that even the richest denomination is scarcely able to maintain a sectarian center of permanently commanding size. Furthermore, the sectarian approach is definitely out of keeping with the attitude of the American university student toward religion. It will be necessary, therefore, that the broadest cooperation be practised between denominations in serving students.

The church dormitory and the college housing problem. The housing problem is peculiarly acute in all our rapidly growing university communities. For this reason it is doubly appropriate for denominations to erect residence halls where students of their communions may live and be reminded of their older ecclesiastical ties and responsibilities. But the whole group of student houses should constitute and find subordinate place within an organized student center movement, interdenominational in character. The tax-supported schools, of course, cannot legally recognize sectarian agencies as integral parts of themselves, and the larger independent universities cannot do so and hold their patronage. It is particularly necessary, therefore, that the united aspect of the Christian center movement be stressed in any working alliance with university authorities.

The dimensions of the task. In terms of staff, the student center means a group of pastor and teacher specialists whose personal fellowship is the essential factor of the situation, but whose systematic instruction will ultimately have university credit. In terms of equip-

ment, it means an adequate building for Christian headquarters, recreation, and resort. In terms of the national home mission task, the student-center movement means a series of vast institutions attached to vaster universities. Whatever of definite religious influence and organized Christian service is to be provided for these students under church auspices must come this way.

TOURISTS AND VACATIONISTS

Leisure has greatly increased in all prosperous nations. Travel as a means of recreation is increasingly available for all classes. A temporary change of residence for part of the year is a fixed habit with great multitudes of our people. Entire states find their most profitable business in serving the annual migration of tourists and vacationists. Recreation is beginning to rank with agriculture and industry as a major source of profits. Road-building policy is greatly affected by the factor of travel by automobile. Enormous investments of capital are involved in summer resorts. Public policy is seriously affected by them in a considerable group of cities. Public morals and law bend to the supposed demands of the recreational transients. To re-plan civilization in view of these facts is one of the large items of social statesmanship today.

Taking the "wreck" out of recreation. Now a church which originated in open-air evangelism will have forgotten its original genius if it does not develop a method and a technique for ministering to human life in this phase. The traveler in the chance crowd has no deep connection with his present social environment; he has very incomplete local community responsibility.

His chief moral bulwarks are thus lacking. Millions of vacationists stand in this position of being temporarily without community ties. Social institutions must make a place for men in this position as well as for settled inhabitants. At present it is commercialized enterprise alone which definitely specializes in the needs of this class. Thus pleasure often assumes the form of acute moral temptation. It is, therefore, for the Church equally to specialize in the needs of the pleasure-seeking transient.

First, it must realize that leisure rightfully acquired is a great boon to humanity. But leisure is rarely mere time empty of work. Something is always happening in leisure. It needs constructive organization. In the second place, the Church must realize that the pleasure seeker has all the other human needs. He may be seeking pleasure, but actually be very lonely and troubled. It must be remembered, too, that leisure is essentially a species of mental change or conversion, in which the mind is peculiarly susceptible to new impressions and outlooks. It rescues the spirit from the bondage of custom and conformity and makes room for new appeals. This new freedom should be turned into an opportunity for the gospel.

Summer residents and the community. When vacationists constitute a seasonal population occupying summer or winter homes for relatively long periods, the religious community and they must come to some terms of responsible cooperation. The duty to cooperate is mutual. Where their numbers are not great, the conscientious summer residents and their families easily find a friendly place in the village church; but when numbers increase, divergences of purpose are liable to develop as

well. Where there are extreme differences in culture or wealth the difficulty becomes enormous. The migratory folks sometimes bring their own peculiar forms of worship and their exclusive high-priced preacher to a mountain village or a Florida coast resort. This of course does not dignify the local religious institutions nor tend to unify the community life.

The real solution here, as in the case of the educational centers, lies in recognizing that the problem is more than local. The Church at large, through collective agreement and action, needs to strengthen and direct community religion among summer transient colonies. Especially must it furnish the adequate leadership and mediate between the elements of the community through a common religious program. It is part of the field of home missionary statesmanship.

The short vacationist and the summer resort. With the short vacationist and the transient camper or motorist the case is still different. It is very difficult to make the atmosphere of commercialized resort favorable to religion, and it surely cannot be done by a grudging or repressive attitude toward recreation. It has been proved at certain New Jersey resorts that a promiscuous group of Sunday pleasure seekers will attend an outdoor Sunday service and take devout part in it. One such resort has a rock pulpit on a tiny island about which hundreds of canoes and motor boats gather at Sunday afternoon vespers. Community singing, properly chosen motion pictures, and all the attractions with which the progressive church now surrounds many of its indoor services, could easily compete with all counter interests, if brought into active use out in the open. There is no church on the Board Walk at Atlantic City, but there

might be one; and it would succeed in delivering its message if its architecture, facilities, equipment, and methods were definitely devised for the work it has to do.

The city visitor. An interesting phase of transience is presented by the hotel district or the downtown center of great cities, where strangers from the face of the whole earth congregate for brief periods for the sake of business or pleasure. Thus: "In the Times Square district (New York City) of a hundred city blocks bounded by 28th and 48th streets and Park and Eighth avenues, there are ninety hotels, accommodating 26,824 guests per day. A stream of more than 30,000 people registers at these hotels every week. There are seventeen clubs and 493 rooming and boarding houses, which, with their semi-transient and transient population, bring the total floating population to approximately 123,000 a month. This means that during a year's time a restless, strenuous whirl of humanity that would total more than the combined populations of San Francisco, Denver, and Boston resides for a few days or a few weeks in this Times Square section of New York. As against this enormous floating population, the permanent dwellers in the homes of this section number 5,464 families. To serve both this permanent and floating constituency there are two Jewish synagogues, four Roman Catholic churches, and thirteen Protestant churches, two of which are for Negroes."

As the result of a recent survey of this district it is suggested that the Protestant churches, in order to meet this situation, should combine on an enormous religious center with a great assembly hall, with advertising and other publicity equal to that which is used by the forty-five theaters and ten motion-picture houses located in the

Times Square section. These have a combined seating capacity of 78,027 against a seating capacity of all the churches of 16,400, and have aggregate audiences of a million people per week.

Transience plus distance. The last chapter considered the problems of distance; this, those of transience. They are not, however, separate and distinct problems. Both converge upon certain classes of people whose lot it is to be distant and transient at the same time. The lumberjack, the miner, the harvest hand, fruit picker, shepherd, beet worker, the roving Indian, little construction gangs of Mexicans or Oriental laborers are types of transients moving about in wide and empty places. Their lot would be most difficult, and religion would find it hard to serve them even if they had fixed homes and habitations. As remote transients their case is doubly hard. No formulated solution of their problem seems possible, but unless God has forgotten them, the Church cannot do so. Locally it must be alert to find them out. Nationally it must find a way to meet their needs, or it must make one.

CHAPTER FOUR

BARRIERS BETWEEN NEIGHBORS

Home Missions and the Problem of Difference

The first foreigner. For many years the sugar manufacturing companies had been shipping from Milwaukee small gangs of Polish people to work as short-time seasonal laborers in the beet fields of southern Michigan. Transient as they were, and scattered over the countryside, these people attracted no notice. The farmers housed them more or less crudely. They cultivated and dug the beets, then went away leaving no more than a ripple in the consciousness of the community to mark their presence. One year, however, local labor was scarce, and one Pole and his half-grown son remained through the fall and early winter to load freight cars from the piles of beets. They lived in part of an abandoned house. Their scant and broken speech, their rough garb and uncouth manners set them apart from the humblest of their fellow-workers. They worked silently, always withdrawing a little when they sat down to eat their noon lunch, and standing on the outskirts of knots of men gathered at the railway station. After the beets were shipped, by some chance they stayed on, living in their hovel, finding an occasional rough job, and sometimes slipping into the ruder places of amusement. By next season they had taken their places in the casual labor ranks of the little town. Gradually they came to be part of it. Like the one Negro family in a community, they were treated with half contemptuous tolerance. They were designated as "the Polaks."

Thus was established in the community the first foreigner. The problem of transience had passed, and that of difference had begun.

The inundation of industry. One swallow does not make a summer, nor does the single foreigner disturb the social balance of a community. The "Polak" might have remained indefinitely a negligible exception but for the sudden expansion of the automobile industry in southern Michigan. For years the little town had been eager for factories and to be allowed to grow big. Almost overnight the wish was realized. In the place of one foreigner came a multitude. The physical balance of the community was utterly changed. There was no housing for the newcomers. Consequently on the higher spots in the marshes across the railway track hastily erected houses were built on small lots. The population center was no longer the historic court-house square, but somewhere within a barrier of railroad yards and factory stockades. On one side lived the older, wealthier, better-housed, more privileged people; on the other, the newcomers. They had few sidewalks, poorer homes, smaller incomes; they stood outside of the advantages and traditions of the community. Their separation, however, could not be absolute. They created a new business district which spilled over into the choicest part of the town. The old commercial center, with what seemed to be a spacious distance between buildings, proved to be laid out on too petty a scale. Business pressed out on all sides, engulfing homes, churches, school, and library in its undesirable activities and surroundings.

The foreigner doing for himself. The central street was filled with foreign-speaking people who were no longer mere passive objects occupying space. They

became quickly and strangely assertive. They had ways of their own. They challenged the traditions of the community, for example, as to Sunday baseball. They were less quiet and orderly in public than the older population. They bought at the American stores, but they also began to set up businesses of their own. Certain amusement resorts sprang up to express their peculiar recreational ideas. They had great capacity for thrift and for cooperative organization in business. Their stores were inferior, yet people traded at them, and they underbid the older merchants. A medley of foreign lodges and social organizations grew up. Later came the foreign-speaking churches, inconspicuous at first, then vast and commanding.

As the foreigner gained in numbers, he gained in power. Politicians sought his support. The trade of the foreign community became valuable. Through commercial and political alliances, in which he was a partner, power became permanently shifted. The young foreigners passed quickly into the school and gradually up into the high school. In athletics they immediately proved assets, but they remained social liabilities. With the growing dependence of the community upon industry, problems of employment, of labor organization, of strikes and lockouts began to affect and perplex all classes of people. There were broader occupational differences as well as alien types of people. It was as if the older inhabitants of the town had been uprooted and set down in the midst of an unfamiliar world. The younger and more adaptable Americans adjusted their minds and ways to the change; but a whole generation of former leaders, the people of influence and standing, the old guardians of tradition and community ideals went to their graves

confused and embittered. The motto written on their hearts was: "The former days were better than these." This is what happens when unlike people are suddenly thrown together in physical nearness without being able to knit themselves into a community.

DIFFERENCE WITHIN AMERICAN POPULATIONS

It is not logically necessary, however, and it probably prejudices the case, to begin the consideration of difference with "American versus Foreigner." There are other types of difference; and it will add to patience as well as to understanding to notice what happens when one American population is suddenly mixed with another equally American population coming from a different environment.

The suburbs. The influx of foreigners in the cities has pushed out great bodies of American population. Running away from the alien flood, they have gone out as far as train and trolley could carry them back and forth to the day's work. Thus has been founded the residential suburbs.

The site of a suburb is most likely a rural village surrounded by farms. In the older parts of the country its tradition and its graveyard often date back to Revolutionary times. It is made up of a handful of old families whose social sway is undisputed, of some small merchants and professional men, a fringe of farmers, and a laboring population which alternates between farm work and odd jobs. Into this environment comes suddenly an invasion of city-bred people.

The spill-over of the city. These Goths and Vandals from the city are Americans just as the natives are, but

they have different standards of living, of dress, of household appointments, of expenditure. Their manners are more formal. In social life, in recreation, in religion they are not like the original people of the town. They have different cultural interests. More of them are college-bred with "high brow" notions. As citizens they have novel ideas. They demand more public improvements, more expenditures through taxation. They bring in churches of new denominations, organize new clubs, and separate themselves from the older population in many ways. The older leaders are ignored, outdistanced, ultimately they are defeated politically. Worst of all, they are deserted by their children, who imitate the newcomers and finally go over to them in sympathy and ambition. People under such conditions are not in a happy attitude toward one another. They do not feel a cordial unity of purpose which makes a true community.

Environmental differences. In milder degree the same problem occurs whenever populations of different occupations attempt to live with each other. It is most colossally illustrated in the mutual attitude of the twelve thousand small towns of America and the farmer who supports the towns by his trade.

The banker, storekeeper, and blacksmith know him (the farmer) as the goose that lays the golden egg. The problem is one of pleasing him and getting his trade without building him and his mind, capacities, and wishes into the community fabric. The farmer's money is good and necessary and must be obtained and his good-will retained; but how to accomplish this object is a problem. Thorough-going incorporation of the farmer into the stream of village activities is frustrated by the fundamental conception of the self-sufficiency of the village.

The farmer is presented outright with a few donations, as privileges, in order to bind him. Toll, of course, is to be exacted by villagers somewhere. Graft sometimes takes the place of open dealing. The farmer does not share in the control and responsibility of certain things which he occasionally enjoys at the village as a spectator. . . . He pays in so much in trade he feels that he ought to have consideration; he pays so little directly toward the institutions that the village considers that his rights are not compelling. Puzzle, perplexity, and embarrassment obscure the whole relationship and situation.¹

The final result of it all is one of the most conspicuous moral cleavages within the nation. Though far less recognized, it is as wide and deep as any class distinction, and is more extensive and massive than any race division. It is one of the major social facts.

Bridging the occupational barrier. We saw in the discussion of distance how the new resources of transportation and the actual outreach of towns has tended largely to destroy rural institutions. The grouping of churches, schools, and all common institutions in towns is going further and further. But, in order to make these institutions serve the people equally, the occupational barrier and rivalry between townsman and farmer must be overcome. This is not impossible; on the other hand it is not easy. There are splendidly successful examples of a community spirit linking town and farm in a single common feeling and in joint enterprises both commercial, civic, and religious. Consolidating schools in town centers and the creation of rural districts uniting the town and the open country are illustrations of such enterprises. But the attempt to make them cooperate

¹ *University of Wisconsin Research Bulletin No. 34.*

shows how real the difficulty is. The mere fact that most farmers are farmers' sons, that they live an outdoor life in contact with nature and people of their own occupation, while the town's people have diversified ancestry and wider experience, makes both more or less tongue-tied in the presence of the other. If such slight differences of occupational habit and mental tendency can make cooperation between Americans difficult, how vastly greater is the task of molding a community out of all sorts and conditions of men.

The retired farmer and his church. When the farmer retires and moves to town the differences which have existed between him and the town's people are simply transferred within the town limits. At the retired farmer's age no class of people changes its mind easily. The retired farmer often has barely enough income to live on frugally. He has always regarded town ways as lax and unthrifty. From the town standpoint he cannot seem anything but non-progressive, narrow, and niggardly. On account of this alienation of feeling, the retired farmer often ends by bringing his church to town with him; rather than by joining the town church. On the outskirts of thousands of American towns are located weak and superfluous churches. They bear the name of this or that denomination, but their real name is, "The Church of the Retired Farmer." They tell the story of the farmer's inability to adapt himself to town ways in his old age and of the town church's inability to understand his needs and to make him feel at home. This is simply a less acute version of the motive which leads the foreign group to establish its own institution.

Traces of foreign inheritance. Indeed this bringing of the retired farmer's church to town is most likely to

occur when he is nearly or remotely of foreign stock. This is curiously illustrated in a Michigan town. A few years ago a church of remote German extraction moved in from the country. Many of its members feel that its foundation was a mistake. But just enough shadow of separateness existed to gather about it a denominational church of retired farmers. In the same community, another open-country church of more recent foreign extraction is dividing and moving into the two neighboring towns to which most of its members have retired. It will establish two ineffective enterprises on the margins of already over-churched communities. All because of the remote memory of different nationality and a rapidly disappearing use of a foreign language.

Different elements of city population. The city, of course, is the place where the greatest amount of human difference is confined and congested on a small spot of earth. Its essential problem is that of adjusting to one another its three different elements; namely, the rural youth who come to the city, the foreign immigrants who are present in most cities, and the city-born and city-minded population.

A recent survey raises the question in all seriousness whether a really suitable type of religious institution for the city has yet been evolved. It ventures the guess that city churches as a whole are simply small town churches transplanted. Or, rather, that the city was a small town yesterday, and that while it has grown up, its churches have not. The Church has not really become urbanized. Many Christian temples are but glorified country meeting-houses. In brief, the church in the city occupies precisely the same position that the retired farmer occupies in town. It does not keep pace with its new environ-

ment. It does not march at the head of a city, in the strength of new spiritual achievement. No more than the retired farmer's little church on the outskirts can mold the town, can such a church mold the city.

In terms of population this means that the quarter of the entire nation which inhabits cities of over two hundred thousand population with their metropolitan areas, have as yet no type of church really suited to their needs, nor one adequate to unite their different elements in communities of Christ.

Beginnings of differentiation to meet city needs. Specialized types of city churches reflecting the social, economic, and racial differences within the population are developing. All of these varied types of churches together, however, fail to constitute a truly urban church of Christ, either in scope, adaptability, or vastness of enterprise. Their leadership is not expert enough, their technique unskilful, and they fail in splendor of imagination.

Manifest inadequacies. The following contrasts leave one with a sense of relative failure:

No Protestant church in the business section of a great city equals the institutions among which it is located in the expertness with which its business is conducted.

No Protestant church approaches industrial populations with the understanding or adaptiveness or competency of leadership shown by a labor organization.

Certainly no Protestant church ministers to foreign-speaking people with the magnificence of building and the adequacy of equipment which they are accustomed to in their old-world cathedrals, and rarely does Protestantism show the same respect for foreign genius and ability that the Roman Catholic church has done.

Scarcely any Protestant church has yet attempted to provide a commanding popular ministry for the great transient throngs in city hotel and amusement districts on a scale with the commercialized agencies of leisure.

As a rule Protestant institutions which serve the unfortunate, subnormal, or vicious do not match those of the Roman Catholic church in size or impressiveness. They often miserably fail to reach recognized standards of hygienic and pedagogic excellence such as are set by the scientific agencies of charity and relief.

Future of the Protestant church in the city. Protestantism must continue its simpler and widely diffused ministry which it now carries on and which is its glory, but it must also build the superlative institutions necessary to match the greatest the city has in any line. The city itself is unbelievable, all but impossible, but it is really no more beyond the powers of the Church than it is beyond any other human effort. If any other agency can succeed, the Church can succeed. Mere vastness of enterprise cannot daunt it if it has the spirit of brotherhood intent to conquer differences and to build the Holy City out of men of every tongue and tribe and people and nation.

THE FOREIGNER HERE AND THERE

We have seen that any sudden influx of new population in large numbers, even though belonging to the same nationality with the original people, is likely to disturb the social peace of an old community. We have noted the difficulties growing out of occupational and environmental difference in town and city. These problems are like the problem which is presented when the foreigner

comes into the American community, but they are not exactly the same. Wherein, then, does the foreigner present a special difficulty? Primarily in three respects, which everybody recognizes: his native language is different; his customs are different; his instinctive reactions and temperament are different.

How these differences work out may be seen by reviewing the chief conditions under which foreign groups are present in America.

Foreign-born farmers. From Michigan west and northwest to the Pacific Coast over one third of all farmers are foreign born. In Minnesota and North Dakota more than half of the farmers are foreign born. They constitute one of the most important sources of the food supply of the nation.

In large measure these agricultural foreigners live in distinct communities. The school district, often the township, the town (except the largest ones), the churches, lodges, agricultural organizations, all tend to become predominantly foreign. Sometimes this means teaching the native foreign language to small children in the public schools to the neglect of English. It means that people of foreign habits control local taxes and public improvements. It means trading in a foreign tongue, preaching in a foreign tongue, organization upon foreign lines. Newspapers are printed in an alien language and feature foreign news. Large proportions of foreign-born farmers do not take the trouble to become citizens in their adopted land. Now, most of the foreigners of this northwestern country are of northern European origin, coming from Scandinavian and Teutonic ancestry. They are hard working, thrifty, and frequently better farmers than Americans are. They

have the habit of cooperative organization which the American farmer lacks, greatly to his disadvantage. Their religious life is devout and tenaciously adhered to. These are magnificent virtues. The foreign farmer has been among the foremost creators of wealth and civilization in the Northwest. He does not always live in a separate community. Scattered among the American population, he easily assimilates and intermarries.

Difficulties of community life. When the organization of community life is attempted, the isolating and clannish ways of the foreign farmer become a serious menace. It is not easy to get all the people to pull together for better roads or schools. The gulf between townsman and farmer is unusually wide when one is American and the other foreign-born. Friendly and intimate neighborliness is difficult. In time of war the foreign element finds itself torn by conflicting loyalties. Because the alien lacks spontaneous patriotism toward America, the American is surprised and suspicious. The foreigner is grieved that his inner struggle and final loyalty is unappreciated, and angered when his customs are assailed by law in the name of Americanization. Stubborn bitterness between the two elements often result, which years fail to efface.

Foes in one's own household. The case is particularly tragic when the foreign group is deserted in sympathy by its own young people. Those who are left behind are the more conservative, the older, the temperamentally reactionary. Their judgments are not representative, their reactions toward American progress not normal. When such a group gets possession of community institutions, when by dogmatic teaching it fixes community thinking in harsh and narrow channels, when

it cherishes its mood of bitterness, it is just as unfortunate as when Americans habitually treat foreigners with contempt.

Duty of Protestant churches of foreign origin. Under such conditions peculiar responsibility devolves upon the Protestant denominations whose recent roots are in foreign-speaking lands and which bring foreign language, customs, and religious outlooks to America. It will take no external compulsion to make these churches ultimately American in tongue as well as in temper. The slowly working leaven of the new world and the instinctive decisions of their young people have already settled this in principle.

As fellow-inhabitants of the country, as fellow-workers upon the soil, and ultimately as fellow-citizens, the foreign-born farmer and his children have to live in communities, larger or smaller, with Americans. Frequently the entire population is but a handful in a vast primitive wilderness, where adequate religious service at best is difficult. These churches must see to it that their policy does not make the uniting of people in communities more difficult.

Duty of American churches toward the foreign-born farmer. Cooperation between rural churches of native and of foreign stock in the whole region of the Northwest rises to the dignity of a great patriotic and religious problem. There is large recognition by churches of foreign origin that full cooperation is desirable, there is a splendid hunger for fellowship, but these are checked and hindered by conservatism and supersensitiveness. The get-together movement has gone far enough to show its possibilities, and so far that a relapse would be a colossal tragedy. All missionary leaders and the splendid

churches of the American-born majority in the Northwest may therefore well make it one of the central efforts of between themselves and the churches of their foreign-their Christian statesmanship to conquer the difference born farmer brethren.

Industrial foreigners in rural environments. The two greatest mineral industries, the mining of coal and iron, are largely carried on by foreign-born laborers in isolated places. Often the pit mouth is at the foot of a forested mountain which shuts out the rest of the world. The iron ranges of the North lie locked by vast forest stretches, bounded by lakes and shut in by long winter. Into such little pockets of the earth, aliens are brought from all quarters of the globe, frequently with small numbers of many nationalities mingled together. All the diversity of Babel confuses their language problem. Often sanitary and health conditions are bad. The people have little civic responsibility, the land, the houses, the mines, the agencies of government and of law enforcement being wholly in the hands of the mining company.

In the Pennsylvania coal fields. Picture a settlement of three hundred Poles and Italians around a Pennsylvania soft coal shaft. In the first place there is so little level land between the mountains that even this minute fragment of a community is crowded for room. Consequently the yards are very small and the houses pressed together almost as closely as in a city. Most of them are double houses. In partial compensation for this crowding and in contrast with the majority of mining towns, the company has provided graded streets, and some attempt at a regularly laid-out community. Most mining settlements are not planned at all; they merely happen.

The little double houses are cheerless enough from an American standpoint. Each family has four square rooms and shares in a tiny front porch. Behind each half-a-house is an individual fenced yard about fifteen by fifty feet in dimension. Every yard has a tiny vegetable garden and generally a cow stable. Most of the gardens have flowers in summer. The settlement is called quarrelsome and dirty. The mining company provides running water in each block, but makes the familiar complaint that nobody ever bothers to close the tap and that if it put plumbing fixtures in individual houses, they would be abused. The missionary finds the people difficult to approach. The men are more or less contemptuous, the women stony. The school has great trouble in keeping the children regularly in attendance. Occasionally a recalcitrant father is arrested and fined for keeping his child out of school to mind the cows. He goes away scratching his head over the queer notions of America. The efforts of the Red Cross nurse to gather mothers for instruction in cooking and hygiene have proved a failure. The miners squander their money recklessly at the stores.

The continental peasant transplanted. Now, picture the home from which these industrial pilgrims came and see if it does not perhaps give a clue to the situation. They have been agricultural peasants since time immemorial, living in small houses in close proximity to the beasts they are accustomed to. They want to live as their fathers did through a thousand unsanitary years. Back there, little boys do not have to go to school, and there are commons belonging to the village on which cows may be pastured. These foreigners are trying to recreate a similar situation in America, and therefore appear as obstructionists and rebels against progress. Yet,

every morning from every unwashed window hangs linen ornamented with marvelous embroidery. Admire it, and faces brighten and tongues grow voluble. From the milk of insanitary cows is made butter and wonderful cheeses; and the gardens grow thriftily. In short, these transplanted peasants have a little art tradition and a thrift tradition of their own, though they do not know how to use schools, nor to take care of cows, nor to spend money under American traditions. To provide for the cows it is only necessary that the mining company fence off a mountain pasture, a thing which the foreign group has not leadership enough to secure for itself.

And does anyone doubt that these people ought to be approached through peasant handicraft, gardens, and cheese-making, which are their virtues, rather than through sanitation and education, in which they are weak? What about a little neighborhood fair with exhibits of flowers, vegetables, hand-work, butter and cheese, or a cooperative association such as they are accustomed to at home, for the joint purchase of cow feed? It is pretty certain that Jane Addams would get at it in that way if her Hull House was at the mouth of a Pennsylvania mine shaft. Cheese and peasant embroidery are not of first importance in American life, but they may be turned to good account as a point of contact with a new people. Approaching the foreigner on the better side of his own interests and through his children turns the face of the most stubborn toward ways of American progress. Such methods as the Vacation Bible School employs, combining playground and hand-work with story telling, have had marvelous success in such fields. Otherwise the dirty transplanted village will continue to

go on indefinitely, suffering only demoralization from its American contacts.

Hundreds of similar settlements will be found in the coal fields and scattered up and down the iron ranges. Their fragmentary size and isolation from larger communities make them subject to the bitterest stress when labor antagonism breaks forth. A strike becomes a struggle at arms. Attempting to enforce the prohibitory law becomes virtual guerilla warfare. Churches of any sort exert but feeble influence. The only effective connection between the better life of the nation and such people are missionaries who become living links and love their way into the lives and hearts of the most difficult and morose of aliens.

The survival of difference in the desert. The most extreme example of what distance and difference combined can do when the two coexist for centuries is that of the Mexican village populations of the Southwest. The ancestors of their people came to North America before the Pilgrim Fathers did. Deserts have shut them in,—an alien group speaking a strange tongue and further isolated by ignorance and illiteracy. Here and there where springs flow out of the roots of mountains they have practised a primitive irrigation and maintained themselves almost unchanged through generations. Living men have seen their Penitentes literally crucify some poor religious zealot. Their social customs, their songs, their food, houses, and, in large part, their clothing follow the ways of three hundred years ago. Equally out-of-date are their thoughts. These long-fixed differences are barely broken through by industry, the school, and the mission.

The alien in the city. We turn now to consider the alien as he characteristically exists in the northeastern part of the nation. Here in one fifth of its area lives over one half of its population and seventy-five per cent of its foreign-born people. Most of the American cities are here, and the problem of difference merges with and largely constitutes the urban problem. While the cities thus contain the most surprising numbers of foreign population, they also contain very much else; so that the foreigner as a "problem" may be relatively not so much of a burden as he is under the simpler circumstances of the farm or rural industry.

When one says, "more Jews in New York than in Jerusalem," he should in fairness go on to say, "and also more churches, more schools, more newspapers and books, more money, more forces to assimilate the foreigner, more vigor of American life and loyalty." It is rather to the almost solidly foreign smaller cities, and to the industrial suburbs of the great cities that we look for the urban problem of the alien in its most acute form. Passaic, New Jersey, or the iron district which stretches from South Chicago to Gary are outstanding examples.

Handicap and achievement. These foreign cities or sections of cities have in the main the outward aspect of ordinary American urban centers, only of the grayer, cheaper, and poorer sort. Often the foreigner lives in a section from which the American population has withdrawn. He inherits the cast-off housing and the outgrown standards of life. Such cities have most of the standard American improvements and may include parks and playgrounds; but they are more crowded, more unsanitary and unbeautiful on account of the poverty and



Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions

ITALIAN CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, NEW YORK CITY

One of the rare examples America offers of a Protestant church building for the use of a foreign-speaking congregation the architecture of which expresses the dignity and beauty the new American has known in the magnificent churches of the Old World.



ignorance of their people. They are flanked or broken into by the huge industrial plants in which the masses work. It is their chief characteristic, however, that they illustrate what the foreigner can do when he carries on a complete scheme of civilization on a complete scale. Business of all sorts, banks, a vigorous foreign language press, vast cathedrals, the control of political government, and a host of various social organizations are in his dominant hands and reflect his spirit.

The pull back. Some of these forces manifestly are conservative of foreign ways. The foreign language press reflects much of old world mood and temperament. Foreign religious conceptions and types of Christianity are preached in strange tongues. Old modes of social organization entrench themselves in such strongholds of foreign power. Yet all told, there is a subtle change in the spirit of the alien in the city. It is not really of the old world, but of the new. What it reflects is not the foreigner, but the new American. The process of self-Americanization is going on.

The urge forward. The motives which brought millions of immigrants to these shores were essentially those of the Pilgrim Fathers. They too have come in a splendid faith seeking a great freedom. Two lands have been borne in the hearts of these teeming peoples,—their own and America. Often they bring a sincere idealism, a touching and teachable confidence. In this mood they attempt the problems of community life when they find themselves in the midst of one of our vigorous foreign-speaking cities.

General agreements. Perplexities enough there are; but certain great and comforting facts stand out clearly.

1. The World War found the foreign-born American loyal on the whole. Common blood spilt for the flag has now consecrated America to them anew.

2. The great bulk of foreign thinking, and the tone of most of the foreign language press is not socially radical or destructive. In most of his papers the new American reads much the same things that we read, expressed in much the same way.

3. The public school is an imperfect but a vastly successful agency of the American spirit. It is not as good as it ought to be as an institution of education for practical life either for foreigners or for anyone else. But in that it deals with children as children and not as foreign children, it has gained a loyal devotion of most new Americans. It assures the possession of our elementary culture and much of our distinctive loyalty to the coming generation.

4. Labor organization has been a most potent Americanizing agency, especially with adult foreigners. It has taken incredible labor and patience to receive incoherent masses of aliens from all corners of the earth and even partially to weave them into a cooperating and disciplined group following common leadership. It is labor organization which has most persistently incited the foreigner to attempt to rise to an American standard of living and to effect his participation in American affairs. Not all that labor organizations do through the control of foreigners can escape criticism; yet the fact remains that they have wrought vast results toward Americanization.

The part of the Protestant Church. Compared with the great underlying process of self-Americanization and with the influence of forces that the new American has found congenial in his own development, all that has

been achieved directly by the Protestant Church is slight. It has not been able to remold the outlook of the great mass of immigrants. It may feel, on the other hand, that it has largely created the atmosphere and molded the conditions under which the process of self-Americanization works. The number of its direct adherents, however, drawn from newer immigrants, is not really impressive. Neither is the influence and magnitude of the institutions which Protestantism has built, compared with the millions of people involved and the vast fabric of their contribution to America.

The various denominations have done a number of relatively small things excellently well. Yet a bit of teaching of English to foreigners and a few missions, settlements, and kindergartens and a handful of foreign-speaking churches affiliated with the Protestant denominations have no really conspicuous part in immediately affecting the destinies of that third of our people who are alien by birth or immediate descent.

Not despising small things. So far as we can now see, the available service of the Protestant Church must be an indefinite increase of the number and strength of such enterprises as they are now conducting. The foreign work will share in the greatly enlarged program which the church in the city needs to undertake. In the main, however, it is the reinforcement of such agencies as are now operating, their support on a more generous scale, and their cooperative molding into a more adequate program that should command the church's main effort in the immediate future. The work should be conducted on a more nearly mutual basis as between the foreigner and the American than frequently in the past. It is in the general atmosphere created by Christian faith and service

in America and with such practical assistance from the Protestant Church that new Americans must work out their own salvation.

Difference plus transience. Our earlier illustrations of the problem of difference brought us into fields where the problem largely combined with the problem of distance, as in the case of the foreign-born farmers in the scantily populated West. We now turn to fields in which the problem of difference combines with that of transience, as in the case with numbers of foreign-born women and children employed on the fruit and cannery crops. Transience is the Protestant Church's opportunity with them. Just because they are forlorn and scattered, separated from the masses of their kind, and peculiarly without friends, the Church may bring to them just the helpful service they most need and of which it is most capable.

Agricultural migrations involving foreign women and children. The Atlantic Coast states have an agricultural migration much smaller than the harvest movement of the Middle West, but humanly interesting in that it chiefly employs foreigners, and they are largely women and children. Their work in this region is almost entirely fruit-picking and truck-farming.

New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and New York all use a large number of such seasonal workers. Here in many places the succession of crops affords intermittent work over a period of four months. A small number of the casual laborers in these areas are single men who start work in Florida and move northward with the crops. The majority, however, come in family groups from the large cities, particularly from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Cannery workers. In the fruit and vegetable cannery industry the problem of transient workers is due more to concentration than to the general geographical distribution of the crops concerned. In the eastern states these crops are chiefly beans, peas, corn, tomatoes, cantaloupes, watermelons, apples, peaches, grapes, strawberries, and bush fruits. They are raised very widely throughout the country, but their chief concentration occurs along either side of Chesapeake Bay, the southern two thirds of Delaware, the southern half of New Jersey, three or four counties in the Hudson River valley, and the New York counties bordering on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. All these regions are near great cities. It is to the city foreigner, therefore, that the canneries turn for short-time labor. This condition is also true in the oyster region.

It is very difficult to estimate the number of migrant workers required for this work. Careful inquiries from growers and agricultural agents in typical counties, together with the estimates ventured by the colleges and the Department of Labor warrant a guess that more than twenty-two thousand migrants are required to harvest the fruit and cannery crops alone. These estimates are for years of average crop yield, but, as in wheat fields, there are great fluctuations in the demand from year to year. In 1919, for example, the short tomato crop in Maryland and the small apple crop in New York greatly reduced the average demand for imported transient labor.

Sanitation and housing. The characteristic problem which the working conditions of the cannery group adds to the problems of work and pay found in the harvesting group, is the very acute one of decent housing, sanitation, and family morals. The housing of agricultural labor

under any circumstances and the moral effect of its working conditions upon itself and upon the farm families and communities with which it is in contact are very urgent problems. When the ordinary hired man goes to the average farm, singly or in groups of two or three, he simply shares the fortunes of the farmer's family. If the number of workers is too large to share the farmer's home, the owner must devise some form of temporary housing to care for these migrants. Thus labor camps came into existence. In New York State alone about five hundred fruit and vegetable pickers' camps are required.

The majority of these fruit pickers' camps consist of existing outbuildings temporarily devoted to human habitation. Conditions in such quarters vary greatly. A large fruit grower frequently has a well-built bunk-house near his residence, the second story of which will house two or three men per room, the first floor being used for a dining-room and kitchen. Where immigrant family labor is used, one may find a long two-story tenement in the midst of an orchard, housing an indeterminate number of families. There is no logical separation of living quarters; no provision of individual privacy or domestic economy. Another frequent type is the long one-story bunk-house, a shack in which every room opens directly out-of-doors. Worst of all, a number of families may be housed in a barn loft without any partitions whatever.

Men, women, and children, young people and adults, the married and the unmarried alike, may be compelled to live in this promiscuous way.

A survey followed by service. Following up a recent investigation of the fruit and cannery crop migrants of the Atlantic Coast states, a highly successful experiment

in Christian service for them was tried out during the summer of 1920, according to plans made by a joint committee of the Home Missions Council and Council of Women for Home Missions. This work was financed by the cooperating of women's home mission boards and supervised by their representative. Typical centers of seasonal farm labor were chosen in New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. Splendid cooperation was secured from employers and communities, and at small expense a successful method was developed. A similar service ought to be followed out in hundreds of places as the result of this pioneering work. It may fairly be said that the Church now knows something definite and effective which it ought to do for this type of migrant.

Glimpses of the manner in which the work was carried on are found in the following bits from the Supervisor's report:

The day's work at the X—— center was extremely interesting. When the children arrived, the tiny babies had their warm baths—a thing unknown to them—were dressed in clean clothes, fed, and tucked into cozy baskets under the trees. The women in the community in each place had a really wonderful time searching through their attics for discarded baby clothes and warm little blankets for the baskets.

The older children had their tasks to perform: the boys carried tables and chairs and arranged them out under the trees. The sand table and clay-modeling table were also put into shape, while the little girls learned how to sweep and dust without stirring up more than they cleared away—they had made real dust cloths and caps and aprons. Then the most favored girl was allowed to dress the doll in its day clothes, for they had a wonderful doll baby and had made a complete outfit for her; she also had a white enameled bed which the boys had

made out of an onion crate. These things sound insignificant, but they are the very lessons these little Italian children need, for most of them know nothing of sanitation.

A sheet is an innovation in their lives, and airing the bedding or wearing sufficient underwear is a brand new idea. Being able to teach these necessary lessons by example of course made a much greater appeal and had the lasting effect on the children that we wished.

After everything was in order for the day, they all gathered together for their opening exercises. To hear their sweet little voices raised in 'Father, we thank thee for the night,' to see that they felt it was a real honor to be chosen to carry the American flag during the salute, to see the intentness with which they listened to the Bible stories which were brand new to them, made you wonder if this wasn't the best part of the day.

Classes followed: basket weaving, sewing, and simple hand-work for the smaller children, a bit of clay-modeling and lots of real play. The girls and boys took turns in helping prepare the hot noon lunches, in setting the table properly, in keeping the tablecloths and tea towels fresh and white, and in washing the dishes. Table manners are much easier taught at a real table than in a classroom, and the eagerness with which they grasped it all made teaching easy.

Y—— was a very different proposition in many ways. The workers at this cannery were Polish. There were over sixty children under the working age, a large per cent of whom not only knew no English, but did not even know their own names. The ignorance and living habits of this group were absolutely appalling. Mr. R, true to his bargain, spent over \$500 on a well-built pavilion and one room, piped water to the place, and cooperated in many other ways in the work. His intense interest in it all and real enthusiasm was very gratifying. We found these Polish children so different from the Italian. The curly-headed, black-eyed, daring little ones from Italy were in sharp contrast to the distrustful, fearsome Polish children, who seemed to be natural-born

thieves and trusted no one until they had proved them. It is so very evident what has been developed by the past conditions of life in these two countries, and I could not help but wonder what the imprint from life in America would show in the next generation.

The tiny chairs and dishes were too much for them, and we thought the first day we would have to nail everything down. They just grabbed like little wild things and ran for the shacks to hide their plunder. The workers handled the situation perfectly wonderfully, however; everything was brought back and the whole situation was cleared up. Not only honesty, but respect and reverence had been established in their minds. They really were hungry for the things they had been denied, and the little group who were barely old enough to work in the cannery hurried over at the short noon hour to learn to write and sew and weave. The poor tired mothers begged the workers to take them in for the hot noon lunches, but facilities did not make this possible this season. A large number of cannerymen from this county (and you remember this is the county with 214 canneries in it) came to see the work and have asked to be allowed to cooperate with us next year in this work.

The cannery camp at its worst. The supervisor of the cooperating women's boards of home missions in their work for migrants reports another rather extreme situation:

This is an example of trying to work with absentee ownership. A large corporation owns this cannery and a local man is manager. The season commences about June first and lasts two or three weeks; then comes a very slack season of from four to six weeks, and then the camp opens full blast for the next three months. The colony is Italian, and instead of having only women and children, old men, young men, and boys are all there. They are Catholics and Protestants, with a bitter feeling between them, especially unattractive bunk-houses, and

no idea of law or order prevails. The older girls are forced to come and live in these conditions, for if they refuse, their fathers beat their mothers for it. There they live in the same small rooms with older brothers, brothers-in-law, or roomers, associate with the lowest type of American men, and have seemingly no way out of it. Many of the Italian boys are not allowed in the factory as they are considered too rough and worthless, so they spend their time gambling and smoking and bullying the girls. The fathers are a very low type of Italian men, and I really think stay in this work because no laws are enforced in this queer little community. Because they are at Z—— for such a long season, the children get no schooling. The Z—— teachers and community have refused to allow them to enter their schools.

The migrant's long trail. Looking at a toiling group of Polish berry pickers under the August sun of Delaware one would not imagine that February would find these very people shucking oysters on the Gulf. Many hundreds of the fruit migrants, however, find their winter phase of labor in the oyster industry. The chief centers of this industry are around Delaware and Chesapeake bays near some of the chief fruit and vegetable producing regions. Several hundred of them, however, annually make the long jump to the oyster producing regions of the gulf coast. Here again the unsanitary and demoralizing camp conditions are duplicated.

Wherever he is, the migrant child is a problem. His schooling, his health, and his morals become subjects for the concern of the community and the Church in a place a thousand miles away. The bath which he took in New Jersey will not last him through a winter of shucking Gulf Coast oysters. Such Ishmaelite conditions are well-nigh the Church's despair.

The new itineracy and the foreigner. Obviously it will not do to trust to chance to provide the next bath. The helpful forces of whatever new community their wandering footsteps may touch may attend promptly and effectively to the terrible needs which such foreign migrant families carry along with them; but more than likely they will not. The best solution of this most difficult problem would be to have a Christian worker attach herself to such a transient group and stick to them through all their wanderings, "Whither thou goest I will go; whither thou lodgest I will lodge," would constitute an ideal missionary plan for the migrant. Where the migrant is the foreign family, and particularly where the welfare of women and children is concerned, the need of some such type of service is all the more pathetically urgent.

Whether the stranger within our gates be distant, transient, or merely different, the real Americanizing and saving influence in his life will be strong and friendly souls who permanently make common cause with him, who share his lot and build themselves into his confidence through mutual confidence and service.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WORLD'S BRAND

Home Missions and the Problem of Prejudice.

Would you rather have been born blind—or black? To have been born blind! Never to have seen the sun; forever to think of light as perhaps some sort of a delicate flavor, an agreeable odor, a sweet sound; but never in the least degree to be able to imagine it as light. Never to have seen a flower, a sunset, or one's mother's face; or the figure or countenance of his own child. To have been born blind!

Or, on the contrary, to have come merrily into a brilliant world with perfect vision. To have smiled back at one's mother with one's eyes; to have experienced the intoxication of color and motion and to cherish the ineffaceable picture of a beloved face. To have known and loved life and all that it shows and to have walked confidently through life,—yet all from behind a black skin. What is there in this challenge that makes the average thoughtful man almost unhesitatingly reply, "I would rather have been born blind." Perhaps you would not answer thus; but why are the others so sure of their choice? They are tacitly assuming that the spirit behind the black face cannot have the same quality of inner life, the same fineness and worth that the spirit behind the blind white face has. There is no real mystery about the decision. One chooses blindness in preference to inferiority which he assumes is involved.

Testing the assumption. But test this assumption of invariable inner inferiority by the only test which we

know how to apply; namely, the test of expressing the soul through deeds. Suppose the black-faced soul were known to the world only through its works. Suppose it writes inspiring verse, wise philosophy, brilliant criticism. Publishers buy it, and publications issue it in competition with similar work from all sorts of men. When you read it, you do not feel any inferiority in the author's mind.

Or suppose that the man with the black face paints pictures which are hung in great galleries; that he plans magnificent structures which you admire when you walk in and out of them; or suppose that he composes superb music which thrills vast assemblies and goes singing around the world; or, suppose that his verse and art and music express the sense of God and of unseen reality and stir men to adoration and their consciences to prophetic glow. Or, on lower levels, suppose that the black-faced soul inhabits a swift body which wins world laurels for America in the Olympic games, or, that he is mighty in war. Or, last of all, that he merely becomes very rich. Assume, then, that the real terms of choice are having a black face, but being by all known tests a superior soul more refined, with a clearer touch of genius, more daring and resourceful, more successful than yours probably is. Still, if you had to live in America, would you rather be born blind or black?

The power of prejudice. To answer the question in this form is to measure the handicap which a black face is in itself. The world has every opportunity to measure your character, to appreciate the spirit behind the black face. Yet some would still choose blindness. Why? Because we know too well the terrific and fateful power of labels which are attached to people in advance. In-

stead of inviting souls to express themselves and then judging what manner of men they are, the world brands them in the cradle. They have no chance to act first, to show by deeds what is behind the face. They are classified, esteemed, and practically dealt with according to a preconceived estimate of race or group capacity and value. It is desperately hard for the individual to break through this hard crust. The soul sinks back from this oppressive weight of prejudice, beside which the thought of lifelong blindness is the more endurable.

Distance, transience, difference, prejudice. Prejudice attaches to nearly all strangers. Indeed it is close to the essence of what we mean by stranger. Stranger usually means one toward whom we have a tacitly unfavorable attitude in advance. Before we will change it, he will have to break through our preconception and show us to the contrary. Shadowy or pronounced, this atmosphere of preconceived antagonism hangs like a pall over all the issues which we have considered,—of distance, of transience, and of difference. The distant stranger whom the Church's longest reach scarcely touches, the transient stranger who is gone before the Church can get into action, might be and would be served if we did not instinctively put them into a class of less value than the nearby and permanent people. However, it dulls the mind to the great variety and scope of prejudice to begin with a consideration of the extreme and spectacular exhibitions of prejudice between races. There are prejudices from which everybody suffers first and last.

THE PREVALENCE OF PREJUDICE IN Milder FORMS

Almost every town has its section about which the rest of the town laughs. Ask the townsman to explain why

there is anything essentially degrading in living across the tracks or south of the river, and he is at loss to explain. Homes may be a little poorer, conveniences fewer; but the most tangible difference is the way people come to feel about it.

A factor to be reckoned with. Now this feeling makes a very great difference, so much so that no merchant bidding for business, no young professional man seeking clients, would willingly identify himself with the defamed section. Living across the tracks may be a handicap which many thousand dollars could not overcome. It may reduce the chance of making a favorable marriage fifty per cent to belong across the river. Almost as well be in another world.

Again the occupational differences which we discussed in a former chapter are heavily loaded with prejudice. The town's people contrive to make the country child attending school and the retired farmer moving into town keenly conscious of inferiority. There is not half so much real difference between the occupational classes as there is made out to be. It is prejudice that puts the sting into the situation.

Taboo. For final explanation of this petty sectionalism, this utterly ridiculous turning of chance physical barriers or occupational difference into symbols of class snobbishness, we have to look back into the mind of the savage. The savage is bound by great numbers of food prohibitions which we recognize as having no reason whatever, but which in spite of their senselessness we still follow in a measure. The high cost of living measures the difficulty of getting enough to eat within the limited range of things which we are permitted to eat. For example, why

will we not eat horse-flesh? Horse-flesh is a perfectly healthful and nutritious article of diet. Our Teutonic forebears ate it in the German forest and thrived mightily. But the horse was sacred to Odin, and the preparation of its flesh for food was a ritual as well as a culinary act. It seemed necessary, therefore, to those who evangelized the Germans to prohibit this meat offered to idols. The good of the body was sacrificed to the health of the soul; in a hungry world, horse-flesh was made taboo and has remained so ever since.

We do not know whether we like horse-flesh or not; we have never tried it. Rather, we have deliberately, systematically, religiously refused to try. We have done all we could to prevent anyone of our way of thinking from ever finding out. Will we, right now, in the face of the difficulty of paying the butcher, seriously consider a horse-meat diet? The very thought is abhorrent.

Yes, precisely that; the thought is abhorrent. Not the horse-flesh, please note. We do not intend to find out whether we abhor it or not. But the thought of breaking an arbitrary taboo, of experimenting in a forbidden realm, of making an adventure in one of the important trivialities of life—that we abhor; abhor so much, on the whole, that we would rather starve than be courageous.

It's curious—and colossally tragic as well—that a world in which half the people regularly live below the level of full nutrition and a third of the people often verge toward the starvation line, divides up into little groups, each saying, with the sheer childishness of Stevenson's rhyme:

You have curious things to eat:
I am fed on proper meat.

The high cost of prejudice. We live in a world in which the supply of brotherliness is limited arbitrarily in exactly the same curious fashion and with like tragic results. There is positive hatred enough, but worse than the hatred, even, is the monopolistic tradition which makes the available supply of brotherliness fatally less than the natural supply; which tells men they do not love one another, and will not let them try out whether they do or not.

This the New Testament illuminated with a flash of genius when it faced the traditions which sunder men as in the case of Peter and Cornelius. For Cornelius, the Roman, had become to Peter, the Jew, as taboo. Did Peter dislike him? Oh, no; he didn't know whether he disliked him or not. He hadn't tested his feelings toward Cornelius. He would not test them. He thought it irreligious to try to find out. The sequel showed that he did like him; that they got along very well together indeed as soon as they got together; nay, more, that they needed one another profoundly. They had been praying for one another! And they had been kept apart so needlessly, so cruelly!

Local prejudices. In the founding of denominational churches nothing touches church policy more often or in more places than prejudice. Tens of thousands of denominational churches have been established on the ground of some "demand" based only in such a prejudice. Probably hundreds are forming at this very moment. The people across the track do not feel at home in existing religious organizations and ask for a new "church." The retired farmer as described in a previous chapter brings his own organization to town with him.

Now petty prejudice backed by timely missionary aid can start a church and perhaps keep it going successfully. There are wise and Godly leaders who ask nothing further than this. Show them the spectacle of a few unchurched people and the possibility of a successful enterprise, and they will lend denominational resources with little study of the total community. Yet it would really take less energy and not nearly so much money to develop community spirit so as to overleap the barrier of local prejudice and take in the neglected group. The thing is so easy and natural, one would think to do it would be the first Christian impulse. A religion which has spanned the globe and whose leader holds the keys of death and of hell can surely reach across the railroad tracks.

Survey, the antidote of prejudice. There is no organization, in most parts of America, the business of which is to represent the community in the founding of religious institutions. No religious leader has the means of securing the proper functioning of the church of different denominations in a community. It is nothing to him if its neglect leaves a temporary place for a church of another denomination. It is secular idealism, therefore, which up to date has chiefly honored the holiness of the community. Schools functioning as community centers prove the sectarian divisions of man largely unnecessary. It is the merchants and agricultural organizations which are showing how farmers and townspeople can get together. The survey method in universal use by the Church could show what religious institutions are really needed on the basis of population and all existing facilities, and what are based on the needless divisions of natural communities. Let the fact frankly be faced; many churches serve to keep men needlessly and cruelly

apart. Of the utmost importance, therefore, are the various forms of city, county, and state federation which depend upon the survey method and which stand for the community point of view in church planning.

Environmental prejudice. Prejudice attaching to the great environmental differences such as that between city and country goes still deeper into the roots of church policy. We see strongly organized farmers' movements pressing for the protection and benefit of the food producing classes. The city masses, on the other hand, are in a critical attitude toward the farmer on account of the high cost of living. There is prejudice on both sides generally recognized and expressed in ten thousand ways. It would be strange if the church were not somehow affected by these differences; yet their deep influence upon missions is rarely confessed. Consider the fact that all national denominations are mixtures of city and country people. In some of them the rural element is so predominate that no conflict ever arises. When numbers are equally matched, however, a bigger struggle frequently goes on between the two elements for the control of church policies.

The Protestant Church, as we noted in another connection, has no adequate city program. This is partly because controlling rural constituencies cannot imagine the complex nature and demands of the modern city. Being rurally minded, they do not think in financial terms adequate to carry out the colossal investments necessary. Nor can they measure the buildings or count the workers necessary to put religious work upon a scale equal with the city's other undertakings. Unrecorded revolutions have taken place in the leadership of great denominations when a rural majority has pulled back and displaced

men planning and asking support for a really expert and scientifically discovered program for the city, the nation, and the world at large. Thousands of sincere Christians kneel in prayer-meeting and pray against the vice and menace of the city—its expenditures, its Sabbath breaking, the tyranny of organized labor, its laxness of theology—without in the least appreciating the scale of its proper demands. They are unmindful of its wonderful constructive impulses, its profound need of recreation, its complex industrial problems, or its gallant effort to study and work through its problems for its own sake and for the sake of the whole world.

The prejudices of labor. On the other hand, great masses of city people, especially in the ranks of organized labor, fail to understand the difficulties of leadership in a church which is controlled by a limited rural imagination. They think that the trouble is the dominance of capital and charge the church with being owned by rich men; while the deeper trouble is lack of experience on the part of country-bred Christians. In a denomination or any nation-wide group of Christians multitudes of whom do not know that there is any social struggle, clear thinking and ringing declarations of righteousness and equity come slowly—especially upon subjects which are outside of their experience. And people are naturally slow to pay for what they do not understand. Great-hearted leaders and conscientious commissions struggle in vain to get aggressive service from an army limited by prejudice based in ignorance.

Again the survey to the rescue. At this point, also, the survey method may help wonderfully. Its essence is that of science as over against prejudice. Its methods are more nearly objective and free from bias than are

the raw convictions of any section or party. By exact and graphic methods it can come nearer than any other agency to succeed in getting people of different experiences to see eye to eye. It gives balance to judgment and breadth to sympathy. It ought to be dominant in the making of all national religious policies.

NATIONALITY PREJUDICE

Coming now to the mingling of men of different nationalities, tongues, and customs in American communities, we reach a fertile realm of prejudice.

There is a real basis in difference to which prejudice attaches itself. It then exaggerates the difference but even more grossly than the milder types of prejudice do.

Prejudice makes bad matters worse. Surely the essential difficulties of the assimilation of foreigners into the American community are formidable enough. Prejudice is what makes it impossible to deal with actual differences rationally and sympathetically. It makes the case harder than it needs to be, and there is no necessity for that.

Of the instinctive dislike and a wrongly directed imagination based on mere difference in the sound of a foreign tongue, a missionary official writes as follows:

Confession perhaps may best serve the case at this point. I speak of one of the most dramatic surprises of my life. Once on a vacation ramble in Vermont, following a mountain path, I seemed to hear the voice of angry, quarrelling men. My mind pictured a drunken crowd carousing in the woods, and I would have turned aside if I could. Persisting, however, I came upon—a group of Slavic folks picking blackberries: mothers with little children at their breasts, garrulous grand-

mothers, maidens, brothers and lovers—all peaceful, domestic, innocent. And the violent, brutal words which I had heard were the most dulcet tones of the Itskys and Ozskys. I had never heard them before. Yet in that tongue mild mothers had crooned their babies to sleep for centuries; man had wooed maid; God had heard prayers. The excuse, therefore, that I had never heard it before lacked something of cogency—partook somewhat of stupidity and provincialism. Yet for less cause age-long animosities have been cherished. Herodotus thought the barbarians tongue-tied, so strange their language sounded to him. And at the bottom of their minds, millions of men imagine that those who differ from them by some superficiality of color, voice, or mental pace really suffer some positive defect, or at least somehow lack complete humanity. The illusion of ignorance, that human beings of unfamiliar mien are not inherently as we are, has no other basis than mental inertia. Only a tradition which makes 'I never have' a reason for not trying, can prevent us from discovering its fallacy.¹

The explanation of such an experience is the fact that prejudice makes men conventional. It forbids us to be adventurous or to try out experiments in human contacts. It is, therefore, mental inertia. It abdicates the right to independent personal experience and discovery. It takes no moral risks; and this is the very death of the soul.

It works both ways. Foreigners need this adventurous spirit to help them get acquainted with Americans just as Americans need it on their part. They have never lived in America before and do not know how well they would like us if they would try to get acquainted instead of huddling in prejudiced clannish groups. The German egotist who would make over America according to his superior *kultur*, and the Bolshevik apostle with his

¹ *The New Home Missions.*

new gospel do not know America. Their prejudices are no more excusable than is our bias against them.

Again, mixed foreign colonies have much to learn of open-mindedness toward one another. They have never before mingled with a dozen other nationalities, as, for example, in a mining camp or on the outskirts of an industrial city. They do not know how well they would like the Italian, the Pole, the Jew if they would try. The mutual prejudices of foreigners under circumstances where they have to be associated together in churches composed of several nationalities or with Americans constitutes a most perplexing problem. On the whole, however, the foreigner is less fearful of social experiments than the American. As a pilgrim to a new land he has already undertaken the adventure of migration. In some measure he expects to change his manner of living. The alien will, therefore, usually meet us more than half way.

The missionary a discoverer of new worlds. The largest world in which we live is the world of fellowship. Deeper than anything else in its ministry to human relationships is the service which the missionary renders as an explorer in this realm. More needed than money or institutions are Christian people who rejoice in the adventure of acquaintanceship with other people. Discretion, with respect for the really protective social conventions must, of course, be insisted upon. The best missionaries, however, are those who have least of the trammels of the conventional spirit, and most of the mood of adventure. How such people enjoy their work! What rewarding discoveries they make! Not without pain and heartache when the shadows of old heredities sometimes fall between friends and fellow-workers, but

how, after ten years, twenty years, a lifetime, they look back upon satisfying companionship and spiritual contacts which bless their spirits even though their chief companions of these years were foreigners with faulty English, outlandish ways, and difficult temperament. It is a real discovery of new worlds to extend the satisfying range of human sympathy and fellowship.

RACE PREJUDICE

The differences which we have just been considering as a ground of prejudice stand between men who originated on the single continent of Europe, between people who have developed a parallel civilization with ours. The case is not essentially dissimilar when we come to people from other continents externally differentiated from us by diversity in color of skin, or historic achievements in human development. Race prejudice is simply the old injustice which we do to our fellow-citizens living across the tracks—only more blind and bitter.

Assimilability. From the standpoint of practical wisdom we should scrutinize with especial closeness the admission to the United States of people classed as unassimilable. It is not prejudice to recognize that people are classed in this way. That is an undeniable fact which makes a practical difference. No nationality has a right of entrance to another country irrespective of the effect of its immigration upon the nation which receives it and upon itself. The idea of unassimilability may be founded in prejudice; yet the existence of the idea enters into the expediencies of temporary political action. Prejudices are serious just in proportion as they have to be taken account of, along with things which really have basis in objective reality.

"The blessed land of room enough." It will not do to admit without argument, however, that there is no place in America for unassimilable people, if there be such. America is trying a novel experiment on a vast scale. Problems of human relationship have been worked at by other nations in little lands from whose many limitations we are free. There is no past experience on the basis of which we may dogmatically assert that the presence of permanently unlike people somewhere within our immense area is a positive evil. We have needed the most unassimilable groups as we have gone along and, except for the Indian, they have come on our invitation. To get the work done that these do, we might well prefer equal numbers of men of our own stock living more after our notions; but there is no evidence that we can or could have got them on equal terms anywhere along our historic pathway. On the whole, the unassimilable groups, so-called, do us more good than harm. Under a prudent and not too ungenerous regulation of their comings and goings their presence may be advantageous, especially inasmuch as there is no practical alternative. No one, at least, has really proposed to shut all of them out, but only this race at one time and another race at another.

If all kinds of men can live together in the world, perhaps they can learn to live together in half the world. Perhaps there is room for even the unassimilable somewhere beneath the sweep of the flag.

The development of race prejudice. Race prejudice, we have said, is essentially a further development of our habit of looking down on the people across the tracks. It goes further than that, however, and further than our prejudice against the European alien, in that it is vena-

ble, systematic, and dogmatic. The individual cannot lightly shake it off. It acts like the pull of gravitation throughout all society. It comes near to committing us all in advance to antagonism or contempt toward all who wear the outward marks of radical racial difference.

Nevertheless, the Christian spirit does not easily accept it. Prejudice is repressive. It cannot go unchallenged unless it has crushed down something within us which we get from Christ. Christianity is a positive incentive to brotherliness. Prejudice compels a generous man to deny his own feelings. The prejudiced are the real victims of prejudice. It is themselves they crush down. It is a sort of black magic which forbids the heart to beat as Christ bids it to beat in you and me.

Prejudice is vituperative. It has a rich vocabulary and an eloquence of insult. It calls names, "Dago," "Nigger," "Sheeny," "Greaser," "Jap," "Chink." The gorilla systematically works himself up into passion by beating his breast and gibbering at his foe. He knows perfectly well the psychology of enraging oneself. It is just so with prejudice. It is not enough that its epithets be descriptive; they must needs be injurious. They cannot remain stationary, they become progressively offensive. They begin by calling "common" and pass on to shrieking "unclean."

Prejudice is depressive. It is the peculiar Anglo-Saxon of it that we bully other races, and thus make over human nature if necessary to assure that other folks are as inferior as we say they are. It is the religion of some men to maintain that the Indian must yield the whole road to the white. I have had apparently average Americans assure me that no Negro ever breathed whom they couldn't make come across the street by crooking

their fingers. They were sure, they said, because they tried it every day or so just to keep their hands in. "I say, 'Come across,' and they do come across." Much of the "Jim Crowing" in America is a systemized attack upon self-respect, a purposeful undermining of character, a device to get men in the habit of thinking of themselves as belonging to an artificial caste status. It is the de-humanizing of the inner life, the damning thing about which is that it so largely succeeds.

The reverse of the process. The profoundest thing which Christian missions does in the world is to demonstrate its belief in man. Faith puts new powers into the "lesser breeds." "He led captivity captive and gave gifts unto man." One of Christ's gifts was that of making a lesser man greater than he formerly was by the expectancy and daring of fellowship.

And there was that about his eye
That none might see and crouch.

His dominant word was, "Man stand up," and men stood up.

Oh, tender dreamer of a generous dream
Who didst believe so surely in our soul,
That ever since, our soul, and ever more,
Affirms, defines itself——

It is the essence of the Christian message to help the soul affirm itself against heredity as against all other handicaps.

In its final phase prejudice is pious. Race-caste is given a religious sanction. The inequality is settled in heaven and therefore settled for good. The little school girl excuses her snippishness to her Hebrew seatmate because the Jews crucified Jesus. This is prejudice,

seeking as it always has done, to intrench itself in religion. The virtual philosophy of millions of our fellow-citizens is roughly like this: Didn't God make the world? Hasn't evolution produced perpetually unequal races? Doesn't this mean that God intended it to be so? Are not color and speech visible symbols of divinely ordained superiority and inferiority? Thus, pious prejudice rests back upon religious fatalism, an essential denial of democracy.

Prejudice compromises God. When prejudice reaches the stage that justifies itself in religion, it almost uniformly forces reaction against religion itself. If we are to accept race discrimination by basing it upon the will of God, then there can be no God. Those who suffer from prejudice rebel against religion when they feel it is used as a cloak for social injustice. They doubt whether Christianity has any effective impulse to brotherhood. Men say bluntly that religion is a sedative, an invention to quiet the handicapped and oppressed; an opiate under the influence of which they accept roseate dreams as a substitute for obtainable realities. God is thus compromised by those who defend their prejudices in his name. The Russian revolution shows the extreme to which such reaction may go. All religion is denounced as a fraud intended to keep people from demanding justice.

Suspicion of the Church. The mood of the darker-skinned races is much less extreme than this. They do not question God, but they do most seriously question whether the Church adequately represents God's mind in race relationship. They are not impressed by mere mass of missionary endeavor for people of their kind, by numerous churches, schools, and settlements. They do

not want the Church to work for them, but to work with them. Even a genuine all-round effort by the Church to equalize religious opportunity throughout the nation would be severely scrutinized by them. "What do you mean by equalized," they would say. "Is there any implicit or unconscious lowering of the standards of service to a level supposed to be suitable, say, for black people?"

Equality in institutional standards. If people of non-European origin find Christian institutions provided for them being conducted with less regard for sanitation or fire protection, if there is a lower salary scale for ministers and teachers of their race, if they sense the presence of policies suggesting that they will naturally be content with less than would be thought suitable for others—then they suspect prejudice is being carried out in the name of Christ.

They are especially sensitive to tendencies in missionary education which seem to imply that there are "lower races" to be prepared for lower occupations, judged by the pay and the honor which they receive. They think it is prejudice not to open all the options of a typical American education to anyone for whom Christian education is nominally provided.

Two wrongs do not make a right. Such questioning attitudes are frequently carried to a prejudiced extreme by our darker brethren. Unless, however, we think them really inferior, we will not take too seriously their oversensitiveness or become discouraged when they exaggerate the discrimination against them. We shall reflect that they have very great cause to be as they are. The adopted racial child has simply grown up into the difficult age of adolescence where years of tenderness

and care are called upon to prove their sincerity. When our own youths are unreasonable in this stage we treat them with humor and patience. We know that they will get over being seventeen if they are normal and are not too greatly antagonized by us.

Dividing the missionary dollar according to our prejudices. There is, however, enough of arresting challenge in these suspicions to make us examine our hearts afresh, wondering whether prejudice may not lurk where we do not suspect it. Consider the motives which govern and distribute the beneficence of Christians toward less favored people. The spending of a missionary dollar is usually entrusted to a group of men held in honor by the churches. They act not alone in the strength of their own outlooks and convictions, but largely from a sense of what their constituencies think and want. Is their division of the dollar and of the millions of dollars which they handle in the aggregate always unprejudiced? In the administration of missions is it sometimes taken for granted that the human and spiritual needs of certain peoples can be cheaply satisfied? Such heart-searching issues underlie the whole effort of Christian evangelism and service for the most needy. They concern depths of life far more fundamental than questions of efficiency and institutional adequacy. They take hold on the very roots of Christian impulse.

The magic of individualizing friendship. The most thorough-going and spiritually adequate service to our farthest sundered brethren is found in the intimate associations of mission homes and schools. In these simple surroundings, great-hearted representatives of Christ walk in the valley of humiliation with their darker-skinned friends and neighbors. They share their com-

mon lot and live life out in these relationships. This is service impossible to doubt. The purest flame of Christian love burns here. These individualizing friendships undercut the race problem. They deal with people one at a time. One does not debate race issues, but acts within a small circle of personal relationships in which prejudice is conquered. John and Mary are just children and not little Negroes, or little Indians bearing any classifying brand.

The service of childhood. This practise of freedom from prejudice in behalf of children shines like the stars within the history of missions. It recovers for handicapped little ones some of the normal rights of childhood. It is a sort of organized Fairy Godmother performing the functions of social parentage in the atmosphere of the Christian home. Its home-life is exacting. The following paragraphs are taken from a description of her work written by an experienced missionary teacher:

It trains in punctuality, darning stockings, table manners; it washes behind the ears; it sings songs and dramatizes the 'Pied Piper of Hamelin'; it tells stories and tucks in bed. It works through personal contacts. It mothers. It develops profound appreciation and loyalty.

To take a life of meager environment and give it money and brains and love and ideals—this is to make citizens by and by, but above all it is to make children now. There is nothing supernatural about such enterprise. It should be normal service, entered upon to make people efficient and good, but also to make them normal and happy. It is pre-eminently a work to be done in the spirit of simplicity, day by day, with laughter and kind faces.

But sadly enough, we are not allowed to rest here, safe and untouched, within the charmed world of

buoyant-hearted service for always winsome childhood. Our own childhood had its tragedies; we bear the scars of its wrongs and hurts. There are pitiable hard inheritances of being born blind or black, the injustices which start life wrong and which stunt it even as it starts.

On lonely country roads march the little bare feet of children, soaked with mud and rain; in city tenements within the uproar of crude streets, long-lashed brown eyes dreaming of the future, are wide open in the darkness. Cold, hurt, hungry, somewhere a child hero faces the adult world with unbowed head. Oh, Sleeping Beauty, shall you sometime waken? Oh, little weary feet, shall you sometime walk the mountain top? Oh, thin hands, shall you sometime hold dead paradise and living storm—and perchance choose the storm? Oh, little lonesome soul, shall you sometime find your Sphere?

That the least of these are not despised in the thought of God, that 'their angels do always behold the face of the Father' is the final comfort of the heart which wants to serve them. It has been quite simple to believe this of children who die, very hard to believe of those who live on—and die handicapped.

But in this stern age humanity simply cannot let children die or stay handicapped. . . . That the child shall live and become efficient, strong, and good is the deepest anxiety of the age.

Unless all men are held cheap, all childhood must be held dear. The call to save the lowliest becomes the holiest of crusades. The heart which takes up battle for the little ones beats in time with the proudest martial step which walks the earth. They also serve who only teach little Indians, Negroes, or Chinese.

Despising the child. Of all the prejudice in the world, the hardest to bear in silence is that which breaks suddenly upon the consciousness of helpless childhood



Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions

ORIENTAL CHILDREN'S EVANGELISTIC MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO

Christianity is a positive incentive to brotherliness. We cannot successfully offer Christ to non-Christian people and withhold kindness, justice, and fraternity.

like a ravishing fiend. It was against this that Jesus hurled the liquid fires of his fiercest indignation.

When the dark-skinned child is turned seven he comes into the house precipitately one day and says, 'Mother, what does it mean to be a Nigger?' After that it is a dragging, brooding, scalding story. It is the same with the 'Greaser,' or the 'Chink.' The child studies the matter. He goes to the back door. He sits in the Jim Crow cars. He looks in through the palings of the city park and playground. He passes by the library, soda fountain, the art museum and the children's theater. He scrutinizes himself as a yellow or some other kind of a peril. He avoids the slap, the push, the word that bids him keep his place. The child's frankness is spoiled, his politeness is shattered, the foundations of his truth are undermined. He keeps silent when they sing 'America.' He cringes, his pride is wounded, his eyes are cast down. He has ceased to be a child and has become a problem. He is 'backward, depressed, handicapped.'

Adolescence either accepts inferiority with stolid apathy or denies it with sullen hatred.

Missions succeed only when they de-problematize the individual and carry over the faith of childhood into youth and manhood. Across gulfs of doubt and suspicion there passes a steady glow of confidence from eye to eye. East and West have met. Human beings of the most diverse races go on living together and will live their lives out as mutual conquerors of prejudice.

RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE

Upon no subject do men think more evil of one another in advance than they do concerning one another's faiths. Religion is essentially personal and intimately social; no one can tell by reading in a book or analyzing

a dogma just how any particular form of religion will function in any single soul or local congregation.

Among the more radically diverse races of America are those who hold to some of the non-Christian religions. A few pagan Indians perpetuate their primitive rites, and a few Buddhists erect temples and worship through idols. And there have filtered in a few Mohammedans, Parsees, and believers in other Oriental faiths. Much more significant than these, and standing on our own cultural level with millions of adherents, is Judaism, the parent faith of our own. The largest single Christian communion is, of course, the Roman Catholic. There remain the various Protestant denominations.

Other people's prejudices easily admitted. Very likely the author can throw a stone from where he sits and writes which would hit the sanctuary of some devout soul (though one very devoid of humor) who still thinks that to his own sect has come the only clear and perfect truth from God. But even such a one will admit that religious prejudices thrust between the rest of us an enormous and unlovely bulk. It makes a vast difference in determining missionary policy what we think of our brother's religion. When and where, for example, should a church be established? How should it relate itself to the community and to other religious bodies in it? The fundamental basis on which such matters are settled is rarely discussed formally. Yet in nothing is it more important that Christians have a clearly defined policy. We must try, therefore, patiently to think our way through to a position which shall help people living under the guidance of religious faith to know when and when not to recognize one another as equivalent parts of the religious life of the community.

No exclusive claims made by any Protestant Church.

First, as between the recognized Protestant communions: No one of these makes pretense that its peculiar historic line of faith and order is the only way of salvation for the individual and the only expression of the purpose of God in the world. Naturally they all believe that their historical positions, doctrinal emphasis, and function in society are exceedingly important. In this, in the main, they are right. This being allowed, it is very easy for members of nearly all of these Churches to go back and forth between them without embarrassment and to associate in communities on the broad and generous lines of promoting the Kingdom of God. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, together with a great array of interdenominational missionary and benevolent undertakings, is a token of this unity, a unity based first of all on the practise of Christians in using these denominations interchangeably.

It is the laymen who have actually demonstrated that whole continents of common ground are possessed by the Church.

The result of the experience of the laity in various denominations and of the working together of the denominations in Christian activities has been the wide adoption of practically identical methods in the conduct of local churches and a general diffusion of a common type of Christian culture. The actual interchange of church membership has gone so far that none of the great Protestant bodies, in their English-speaking branches, consist primarily of members born in that community or holding to it for any exclusive reason.

Interchangeable churches and the community. Thus it comes about that from the standpoint of service to the

local community, these great Protestant communions are virtually interchangeable provided their local churches have actually reached the common standard of church life. The Salvation Army is so highly respected in its peculiar sphere that it may be used for an example without offense. Where the Salvation Army has the recognized system of church organization, of Sunday-school, prayer-meeting, and missionary society with carefully trained leaders and a culturally acceptable expression of religion in its services, there is no difficulty in recognizing it as one of the churches in the community. That is to say, that its function among the religious agencies is practically the same as all of the rest. On the contrary, when a local church of any denomination is below its public in the type of organization and the culture standards which it offers, it finds difficulty in entering into the sphere of common service with the other churches.

In other words, the differences which really make a difference as between the Protestant bodies, from the standpoint of community service, have little to do with doctrine. They rest almost solely upon diversities of method and taste. There ought to be churches different enough from the rest to reach the people whom the rest of the churches do not reach. From the standpoint of practical cooperation, however, it remains true that the doctrines of religion play little part, and even the lack of common methods and a common temperament are not insurmountable obstacles.

Jew and Catholic. With respect to religious bodies some of whose views we hold to be destructively wrong, the case is somewhat different. Yet it is not altogether so; we have much common ground with them. American Judaism emphasizes the mood and ethics of the prophets,

which were the chief historic source of Jesus' faith. We hold in common with the Catholic every article in the most historic creeds together with our every holy rite and observance. The Jew leaves out that which we hold most essential; the Catholic adds doctrines which we feel distort the whole. Yet we are to consider that the effect of their errors is not what it would be if we were not in the world continually checking and correcting them with ten thousand voices. They are not actually making numerous converts among Protestant people; if our impression has been to the contrary, it is not justified by really authoritative statistics. Meanwhile Jew and Catholic bless the coming of children, sanctify marriage, bury the dead, teach religion, relieve suffering, minister in sorrow, help sick souls find the consolation of God. These are the works of the Christ.

All the religious forces are needed. It is only fair, therefore, to number the Jewish and Catholic churches among the constructive religious forces of each given local community. Missionary statesmanship must take account of and make common cause with them in all the large and inclusive community expressions of religion. There is religious need enough to tax the best energies and resources of all. This desperate need should lead us to regard them as brethren and allies in a common cause.

The duty of opposing slander. The Protestant church ought to set its face against the scurrilous propaganda such as now and again breaks out against Catholic and Jew even in reputable places. Fed by the fires of race prejudice and fanning the embers of by-gone sufferings and animosities, slander keeps up its subterranean mutterings. It is a species of moral lynching, abhorrent in a land of clear thinking and fair play.

The heathen in our blindness. Dealing with the non-Christian faiths, foreign missions has long since come to a clearly defined attitude toward them. No other faith has been strong enough really to challenge ours in America. Consequently, beyond calling the religion of pagan Indians and Buddhists "heathen," we have very little else to say about them.

Now if these religions were what they once have been, namely, spiritual sincerities of devout souls, it would be our duty to appreciate their genuineness and to weigh their results. As faiths, however, they are both bankrupt. Their survival means something else than religious devotion. Held as an outlook on life, paganism is, of course, possible only when people do not know the world and are not practising the characteristic arts of civilization. None of the armies of dark-skinned people who were drafted from the ends of the world to the battle-fields of Europe could go back to undisturbed paganism if they desired. Wireless telegraphy, chemical warfare, and aeroplanes put old gods to flight. It has long since been so with the Indian. Paganism has ceased to satisfy him as a means of finding God. Our talk about the Indian's religion being good enough for the Indian is sentimental twaddle. Why, then, does Indian paganism continue? Because neglect and prejudice have failed to provide a vital substitute. The white man marks down the value of the Indian's personality and genius.

No Christ without the acknowledgment of racial kinship. A stronger and even menacing example of this same tendency is found in Japanese Buddhism which is aggressive in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast. If there were no barrier of prejudice between Oriental and American, and specifically no friction between America and

Japan, half the motive which supports Buddhism here on our shores would be gone. It has no serious intellectual or spiritual hold on the Japanese leaders and would quickly fall away from the scattered Japanese colonists in the West if an expression of race solidarity were not enforced by the situation. Buddhism is such an expression. It is defensive more than it is offensive. Just in proportion as the Japanese community is segregated and thrown back upon itself, just so far as unfriendly agitation secures the denial of ordinary privileges to the Japanese, they are thrown back upon "heathenism" as their own old national faith. We cannot successfully offer Christ to non-Christian peoples and withhold kindness, justness, and fraternity.

CHAPTER SIX

HOME MISSIONS AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Besides being immortal souls, the one hundred and five million people of the United States are physical creatures who must have daily bread, clothing, and shelter as inescapable conditions of existence. To support themselves and the rest of us, some forty million persons are engaged in gainful occupations. To these must be added in all justice the multitude of home-makers and home-workers whose unpaid domestic labor makes the whole fabric of civilization possible. In the sense, however, that they do not receive wages, they are among the dependents of the gainful workers. Other dependents are the nearly thirty millions of infants and children, the army of youth who may be partially self-supporting, and the vast majority of the aged. Only a favored few can stop work with declining strength, having enough income to support themselves as the result of their own past toil and savings, and without dependence upon others.

Farmers constitute by far the largest occupational group, numbering one third of all American workers. Our study of labor from the standpoint of the Christian Church may, therefore, well begin with the farmer.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLE WITHIN THE FAMILY GROUP

Family labor on the farm. The land-renting farmer, for example, represents a family possessing the tools of industry and self-employed in its occupation. Nobody

pays the farmer wages. What he gets are the profits of an independent business. But farming is a domestic business. The unpaid labor of wife and children is virtually essential to the enterprise. What, then, do the wife and children, as workers, get? Not wages, but simply a living and a deferred right in any property which the common labor of the family may earn. The individuals who make up the farm family keep raising the question of the division of the fruits of labor. They do not ask it in the same way that it is asked between employer and employee; but hundreds of thousands of farm women and young people are in their hearts asking the question which organized labor stresses, namely: Am I properly paid for my work in terms of human opportunity? Every human being who works instinctively raises this question. Economic conflict can and does exist not only between people who have the largest measure of practical interests in common but between those also who are bound together by the profoundest ties of kinship and love. The labor movement is therefore essential and undying. Only by so recognizing it, can we appreciate the deeper significance of social unrest and the permanent problem which is created for the Church.

Selling one's own flesh and blood. In another connection we have met the foreign labor agents or padroni who recruit gangs of women and children for seasonal work in the berry fields, the canneries, or the oyster industry. Very often they get their start in business by selling the labor of their own family. Wife and children do the work while they occupy the more profitable rôle of business manager.

Before the passage of Federal Child Labor Laws, the

Piedmont section of the South used to be overrun by drifting family-gangs of cotton mill workers. The father bargained for their collective labor, throwing in the services of under-aged children at a fractional value. The Negro tenant legally contracts the labor of so many "head" of field hands. Children scarcely able to toddle are reckoned to produce their quota of cotton. From the standpoint of the type of laborer whom we are now discussing there is nothing unnatural about this. Oppressed peoples living below the poverty line take it for granted that one can rise above it only by the desperate expedient of exploiting the group included within the family tie. In their poor way such fathers sincerely love their wives and little ones. When the family is depressed to this extent, all its members simply accept their lot.

Child labor with the best of farmers. These, however, are not typical American farmers; but rather representatives of alien, degenerate, or lower groups. What about the American farmers generally? The fact is that there is a vast amount of social unrest in the farm homes of the nation due to resentment against the conditions under which farm work is done by the family group. As part of a recent survey, an experienced pastor in Illinois set himself to give a deliberate estimate as to the future prospects of a hundred tenant farmers in his parish. What chance had they of achieving farm ownership? The hundred answers were given with extreme conscientiousness, but were wearying in their monotony. In few cases the pastor wrote, "This man is in poor health. I do not think he can ever acquire a farm"; or, "This is a lazy fellow." In the vast majority of cases, however, the pastor thought that the prospect of success hinged

on the possession of male children. "He has no boys"; or, "His older children are girls. I'm afraid his prospects of owning a farm are slim." On the other hand, "He has a nice lot of boys coming on"; or, "Having had several sons to help him, he is likely to succeed in saving enough money to buy." Minor variations in the answers were, "His wife is a strong and good worker"; or, "His wife is sickly and I doubt whether he'll make it."

How over-priced land is paid for. It is commonly recognized that the sale value of the best agricultural land of the Middle West is speculative; that is, that at present prices it could never be paid for from the products which it yields. It is valued above its actual productive returns because people believe that some day the price will go still higher. They expect to be rewarded by the profits of speculation rather than by those of farming. The tenant, it is pointed out, cannot possibly buy a farm costing more than the profits of the farm can pay for. He has nothing to pay with, except the profits of his farming. "But they do buy them," is always the reply of the country banker and merchant. "How do they pay for them, then?" "Why, if they have five or six boys——" Of course, this is simply equivalent to saying that if one had all the unpaid labor he wanted, he could soon own the earth.

"What shall it profit?" Now when the struggle for land ownership is made in order to establish a permanent farm home, it is one of the noblest and most useful of the economic efforts of mankind. It is only when the farmer embarks on a speculative venture to which he finds himself sacrificing himself and his family that his motives may be criticized. The tragedy of the situation

is that millions of rural people are caught in a condition in which the legitimate land-hunger is entangled with a speculative spirit. It is infinitely important that we have a land-owning American rural population; but it is too costly when this is achieved by the physical and spiritual distortion and stunting of individuals.

The large evidence of rural exploitation. Multitudes of farmers and their friends will deny that there is anything in common between the deprivations of the farm mother and child working at home, and the exploitation and misery of city wage workers compelled to labor under unsanitary surroundings for insufficient pay. Nevertheless, taken in its bulk, rural family labor is clearly revealed as having its part in the exploitation of human beings.

A million and a half of children between the ages of ten and fifteen were reported by the 1910 census as being gainfully employed in agriculture, either on the home farm or working out. It needs no special investigation to prove that this farm work involves their being kept out of school frequently and often for long periods. This is written across the face of the whole body of educational statistics. The average rural attendance in many states is not more than half the days that the school is in session; while for America as a whole the rural term averages two months shorter than the city term.

All sorts of farmers are guilty. This is true not only of the children of foreigners or of transient workers in agriculture, though with them the most flagrant examples are found. For example, fifteen per cent of the children of "beet families" were found who had never attended any school at all in America. It is well known that cotton makes harsh demand on the child worker. Wheat

farming in Dakota has exactly the same effect on school attendance. A report of the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction states, "That an average of at least twenty thousand farm children stay out of school each year for a period of sixty days to help wheat production." In Kentucky tobacco plays the same havoc. In Maryland, it may be strawberries. Summarizing the investigation of five states, it was found that over one third of the school session had been missed by 8,835 farm working children not of migrant families. The real issue, however, is not one of going to school, but of becoming educated and receiving a human opportunity thereby. This is the individual's side. The state also wants to know what kind of citizens it is to have in the future. It wants them to be fitted for an intelligent and responsible part in the life of the community. It will be glad to adjust the school year to the convenience of farming as far as possible. But it requires that the child be not sacrificed in his opportunity to receive an education. The state's interest in the child takes the form of compulsory school attendance laws. Their enforcement, however, is in the hands of local authorities who dare not prosecute their own neighbors. Indeed, they are all pretty much in the same boat; they really do not see how the farmer can farm without child labor.

The economic folly of it. Judged on the basis of a lifetime, it is easy to prove that the seeming profits of child labor are fallacious. Repeated studies have been made of the labor incomes of farmers of different degrees of education. These show that farmers with high school and college education are making far more than their puny child efforts could possibly have contributed to their fathers' wealth. There would be a great deal more of

agricultural prosperity if all rural children were given a full educational opportunity. There is something shameful, however, in bringing profits into the problem. It ought to be one of the inalienable rights of the child to have a full elementary education. We owe that much to his dignity as a human being and to the future of American democracy.

The case of the farm woman. Family labor on the farm finds large place for the exploitation of women as well as of children. This may best be seen by a study of the tendency of farm expenditures calculated to reduce labor. It has been noted how few farmers of any sort have begun to apply to the household labor those means of labor-saving which are the ordinary commonplaces of civilization. The essence of the farmer's labor problem is the lifting of weight and the carrying of it from place to place. A year's farm work reduces itself to this: thousands of tons are lifted and carried thousands of miles. Now the farmer rises in the scale of civilization just in proportion as he is able to transfer the lifting and carrying from his own back to beasts and machinery. Scientific farming consists very largely in applying mechanical power to farm work. The farmer's barns are full of machinery; his stalls have running water for cattle; tackle and trucks and good roads and efficient layout of his farm buildings reduce and take the burden of his carting problem. Yet the work of the farm home remains under most of its primitive burden. Far greater improvements relatively have been made in the average housing of beasts than of children.

Hewers of wood and drawers of water. With rare exceptions the farm woman's lot includes an endless carrying of wood and water, a wearying round between

disconnected buildings, with the bondage of the broom and the mop. To this is added the productive labor of the garden, poultry yard, milking shed and field. According to survey data this frequently averages at least two hours per day.

Recently a Colorado farmer wrote to the governor elect of that state as follows: "You would be a better man than Lincoln if you can get the United States to let all the farmers have two wives. You see the farmer would then be independent of hired help in a few years, both on farm and in housework. One wife could help the other, and the farmer could more surely raise boys to work the farm." This, of course, is humorous. The more grim and more subtle aspect of its humor lies, however, in the serious assumption that what the farmer generally wants of wife and children is to serve as unpaid workers.

Endless and crushing work, with no hope of escape, fills the whole horizon of millions of rural mothers and girls. All the phenomena of acute social unrest are evidenced in the attitudes of farm women and children towards such conditions. When the farmer's wife has a chance to be heard, she speaks vigorously enough.

Striking against farm labor conditions. The unrest of youth is expressed chiefly by the prompt leaving of the farm whenever possible. This is popularly known as the "rural exodus." But the streaming of country people to the city is in essential aspects a veritable strike against farm labor conditions. It does not ordinarily reveal itself in that light because our imaginations are pre-empted by the organized and spectacular strikes of industry. Certain "outlaw" strikes, however, have recently shown that unorganized men over wide areas may

suddenly quit work individually by a sort of common consent.

This is what the farm boy has been doing for a good while. It is his strike against industrial conditions. From certain other aspects of the case the redistribution of population between city and country is very largely normal. But the mood in which the rural boy has broken with the farm is not normal. He has left home feeling deep resentment against the price which rural youth has to pay for being born and reared in the open country.

Bringing economic struggle home. It is necessary to see how heavily an economic system may bear upon a group of workers bound together by the deepest and holiest of ties in order to appreciate its bitterness when no such ties exist. If such things as we have discovered exist between fathers and sons, what must be the case when the employee is unknown to the employer,—unrelated, a mere hand? If there are exploitations within an association based upon affection, what extremes of exploitation will be possible where no love exists or may be presumed?

Yet multitudes of sincere Christians still doubt whether the industrial struggle is an essential element in human affairs. Is not the whole labor problem the creation of unreasonable agitators? At worst are not industrial injustices exceptional and to be counted rather as side issues? Is it not enough for people generally to be contented and get to work? These questions define the horizon of much of the Church's economic imagination. Far from the noise of battle, dwelling beside the sheep cotes, the rurally minded majority of American Christians are still thinking along these lines. The plea that it is the business of the Church to concern itself with labor

and industry seems to them exaggerated; or at best, it seems remote and concerned with the cities and the manufacturing industries. They cannot see that economic struggle is everywhere and that it constitutes one of the major problems of religion. It is to convince such minds, that the problem of farm labor has been dwelt on at length. Even in the family, we conclude, where love is, economic strife enters, and the problem of justice takes precedence over all others.

RURAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS OUTSIDE OF THE FAMILY

Farm tenancy is another illustration of how blood relationship may fail to prevent the exploitation of one member of the family by another to the third and fourth generation. The tenant standard of living is very much below that of the owners; yet approximately one third of all tenants (Negroes excepted) are sons or near relatives of owners. No different terms of lease are customary as between the son and the stranger, though the enforcement of the lease is often less strenuous in the case of the son. On the whole, however, tenancy in the family simply hands down the same type of labor problem from one generation to another. The parent who kept his son out of school to do farm work sees no reason why his grandson should not have the same lot. He, therefore, does not make it any easier for his son as tenant than it was for himself. The son, therefore, is compelled in turn to fall back upon child labor in order to get ahead. So the process goes on until youth escapes by quitting the farm entirely.

Landless people in rural slums. All this is not to say that blood relationship counts for nothing in miti-

gating the dealings of owner and tenant. As a matter of fact it counts greatly. For the first time in the study of farm tenancy the Interchurch investigations separated the related tenant from the unrelated. It was known that the lot of all tenants was hard. It is now proved that when the related tenants are removed, the average of the unrelated tenant's standard of living will be found very much lower than was realized. The related third of the tenants are only temporarily landless. In time they will inherit a farm or part of one. The unrelated tenant, constituting two thirds of the entire number, has no land and no means of securing it save by unremitting toil. Naturally his every effort is bent to this end as long as any hope remains. The hours of woman and child labor are longer, the work heavier, the days of schooling fewer, the house with its furnishing and sanitation poorer, the labor saving machinery less than with any other group of farm families. The nation is slowly waking up to the discovery that hundreds of thousands of tenant families are living on less than is necessary to sustain life in health and decency, and that they are without any real chance of progress.

The agricultural ladder. It is a stupid mistake to assume on this account that tenancy generally is an evil. Nearly all white American tenants are the children of land owners. Farming naturally begins with tenancy if not with hiring out as a "hand." About eighty-five per cent of those who start on the agricultural ladder succeed in climbing to the summit of ownership; then if their lands are productive enough to support two families, they retire as landlords. This leaves the farm available for some young man without money; often, as we have seen, for the landlord's own son. As tenants, these

landless farmers get the use of land and serve an apprenticeship in their industry. They gain experience, increase their capital, and reach safe footing for their own ventures in ownership. The main economic movement of American farming is up the agricultural ladder which is climbed round by round by successive generations of farmers. So long as the climbing is not too hard and the tenant is able to live in health and decency, demanding a fair degree of human opportunity for himself and his children, the essential justice of the system of private land ownership need not be questioned.

Is tenancy a menace? Before reaching this comfortable conclusion, however, certain startling exceptions need to be noted.

First, multitudes of tenants, constituting a vast majority in certain sections, have no reasonable prospect of achieving ownership. Their fathers were landless and, in all human probability, they themselves will die landless. These hopeless tenants furnish the depressed element in the community, one poor in spirit as well as in goods.

Second, for all tenants, the goal of land ownership is deferred longer and longer. The length of the hired man stage has increased as well; so that as between beginning to farm now and beginning thirty or forty years ago, an average of probably nine years has been added to the young farmer's period of labor and struggle. On the average it takes that much longer today to acquire a farm. Often this means deferred marriage and more often a long period during which wife and children are driven desperately in the family struggle to get ahead. The tenant's child is well into adolescence before ownership can be hoped for. This means the whole of child-

hood is spent under an acute handicap. Not only does the tenant's child live on a lower level of social esteem, but the margin of leisure which is his is naturally narrower and there is a smaller surplus of wealth to be expended upon his health, his education, his recreation, and the pursuit of the ideals of life.

Third, the delay in reaching landownership means by mathematical necessity that the number who never reach the goal is steadily increasing. Tenancy in America has been in the main a transitional stage, but it is rapidly becoming a permanent status for a large proportion of American farmers.

What to do about it. These are perilously high costs either for the individual or for the nation to pay. They constitute a grave menace to our food supply. They challenge our complacency with respect to our land system. They explain the many efforts of states to provide an easier road to farm-home ownership for the landless man who wants to farm. Through rural credits, land settlement schemes, and the direction of immigration, the more progressive commonwealths are striving to provide continued opportunity for the working farmer. At the same time, many experiments are being made in taxation methods which make it hard for the merely speculative landlord to continue to hold land.

How the rural economic struggle touches the Church. In many ways as yet little understood, social struggle in its rural setting affects the success of the Church as a service agency of religion for the American people. A certain Kentucky farming community, for example, is served by three churches. One is the farm hand's church, the second the farm tenant's church, and the third the farm owner's church. The denominational

allegiances of these economic classes might be changed about in some other place. In this place, however, the names and denominational connections merely disguise the fact of these three rural social classes, well marked, anciently established, and in this community almost entirely separated. In a New Jersey community where eighty-four owners and about a hundred and fifty farm hands living on their places were studied, a survey showed not a single case where the two classes attended the same church or their children attended the same school. The fact of such paralyzing class stratification, existing in many cases in the open country, has had little recognition by the Church. When leaders establish or support a rural class church under a sectarian name, they should at least be conscious of what they are doing. Ultimately they must meet the challenge of a democratic community which expects that the Church shall unify men rather than divide them. Otherwise, the Church merely bungles situations in which it is sincerely desirous to serve the people.

Missionary funds and the rural church. Again, the Church must make special financial provision for religion in rural communities, especially those under the stress of acute economic struggle. Rarely can a neighborhood with a disproportionate number of tenants support a church of standard efficiency. Even though they were equally well off, the tenant group is more transient and less responsible. What it is lacking in is not so much religion as it is community relationships; but it is also likely to be comparatively poor. The first remedy for the condition is leadership and the second, organization. A resident pastor with special fitness to interpret the community idea and to develop the social spirit within the group is

the key to the situation ; but to pay such a pastor and to give him a suitable church equipment with which to work will require an extra amount of missionary funds. This is a part of the equalizing of religious opportunity for all Americans. It places the adjustment of religious agencies to the needs of economic groups and classes along with the special problems of the distant, transient and different folks, and of those who suffer from prejudice.

The land owner's stewardship. The financing of adequate rural religious institutions rests upon the whole people. Special responsibility attaches, however, to the landowning farmer for investing part of his wealth in better rural institutions. When, as is frequently the case, it is not the farmer's farming, but the landless man's land hunger which makes one hundred dollar land worth two hundred or even five hundred dollars by the end of a decade, a direct moral obligation rests upon the owner with respect to wealth thus gained. It is not just as though he had created this wealth by personal labor and saving. He ought to put a larger proportion of it back into the community which gave it to him. Particularly he ought to give to the Church at large more than, in most cases, he has been doing. To no class of Christians are distant people so distant or transient people so transient, or different people so different as to the farmer. This is true because his isolation has given him fewer opportunities of actual contact with them. Yet, all told, the farmer's wealth has strikingly increased. He needs to be given a new world vision of Christian opportunity. It is part of the same problem to persuade the farmer of the need of a rising standard of service and expenditure for the religious agencies over against his own home.

The defense of women's and children's rights. Finally, in the open country, as everywhere, the Church stands committed to the defense of women and children in their full rights of growth, of the complete development of their personalities, and freedom from stunting and crushing toil. Especially in those delicate and intimate economic relations where a man's foes are sometimes those of his own household,—where the restive and sensitive spirit of the youthful worker is in rebellion against the common burdens of the family group, where man and woman as fellow-laborers sometimes forget the sanctities which hold between them as husband and wife,—are the ideals and counsels of religion greatly needed. In general the Church must teach the farmer to value personality more and material possessions less; to live more amply as he goes along; to take more leisure and to spend more in time as well as in money for education and recreation. This means, in general, to set a more human goal than the ownership of a farm, no matter how valuable, and to realize that nothing can buy back health, hope, and the eager and joyous heart when once their day is past.

The rural struggle softened by community bonds. The saving element in the rural industrial situation even outside of the family is that, on the whole, landlords are humanly near to tenants either as relatives or neighbors or both. Absentee landlordism may be more profitable for the individual tenant, but its social results are bad; and when it is widespread, social tension is often more severe than in the manufacturing industries. It is when men of divergent economic interests still live together and belong mutually to a community that their struggle for the rewards of labor is made tolerable or even kindly.

Fathers do exploit children and neighbors neighbors, but not nearly so cruelly as strangers exploit strangers.

Farmer and hired man. It is the saving grace of the rural economic struggle as a whole that the parties to it stand in face-to-face relationships. This is generally true as between the farmer of all degrees and his hired man. No other two million six hundred thousand wage earners have their employers habitually as fellow-workers. This makes vital difference in the working out of the wage relationship. The farmer's shoulder is under the same load with the hand's. Largely they sleep under the same roof, eat at the same table. They work and plan together. They talk out their difficulties at length. If these difficulties become over acute, the hired man knocks the farmer down. This is a tremendously important advantage. The employer is not remote, inaccessible, ignorant of the details of the worker's life; nor is the employee blind to the intimate problems of the employer. Just as love tempers the economic struggle within the family group so neighborhood tempers it between most rural employers and employees.

The rural manufacturing industry. In many small factory industries in a rural setting, the same principle holds. The shop manager is still "Bill" to the majority of the workers just as he was in school days. Their children are in the same school and they themselves belong to the same church or lodge. A body of sentiments issuing from a common community controls both. Differences may be adjusted in direct conference. As between man and "boss," industrial relationships are personal and human. This does not tell the whole story, however. The boss, at least, is subject to pressure from forces which he cannot control relating to the entire in-

dustry. Influences which are neither personal nor human regulate his market. His personally kind inclination toward his men, therefore, does not preclude the necessity that they may have to be organized to resist pressure which he can but pass on to them. While many rural employers would like to be humane and neighborly, they feel that they have to exploit their men in order to remain in business at all, exactly as the farmer feels about his children and the business of farming. Yet it helps mightily to have a friendly and considerate atmosphere in which to consider conflicts of interests even when they must needs come. A conference with good-will behind it, Earl Grey insisted, would have prevented the World War. Personal contacts with community sentiments to temper them prevent innumerable labor conflicts. In the small communities and industries which we are now discussing, the Church itself is the circle within which friendly fellowship between employer and man ought to grow most fruitfully. In organizing community life and activity so that the two classes are in constant companionship both in work and in play ought to lie a very large secret of industrial peace.

URBAN INDUSTRY AND LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION

The vast bulk of American productive labor is conducted under no such humanizing influences. All the major and so-called basic industries except farming are carried on more economically through very large industrial organizations with many plants employing thousands of men. These are owned ultimately by millions of stock and bond holders who have loaned their capital to set up the vast machinery of production. The United States

Steel Corporation alone has ninety-six thousand stock holders. Their individual share in management, however, is just about as great as that of the owner of a few Liberty Bonds in the financial policies of the United States Government. Almost as limited, indeed, in the determination of general conditions of production are the managers of the various plants. It is required of them that they turn out a certain amount of product of standard quality. Final control necessarily is greatly centralized and rests frequently in the hands of men quite unacquainted with the actual process of manufacturing. They run these vast human enterprises by means of book-keeping. If profits rise from the adoption of a certain policy, that policy is good; but if not, it is bad. The individual worker is a thousand miles removed from the mind which settles his destinies. In the case of some of the largest corporations, the machinery which controls the fortunes of as many as three quarters of a million of people is impersonal, anonymous, absentee, non-moral.

Industrial investigation by the Church. Innumerable instances prove the truth of the above generalizations. They are commonly recognized as explaining the large tendencies of American industry today. It is characteristic, however, of the Church's approach to the problem of economic struggle that it does not deal in generalities. It should make large use of the survey method. Representatives of the Church have studied minutely a half dozen of the basic industries. It does not charge that in any of them the menacing tendencies above described are present without any mitigating factors or efforts. There are always two sides to an economic issue. A scientific approach to a problem will reveal both sides. This is the peculiar strength of the survey method in controverted

matters. Few church members realize the extent of these first-hand studies or the recognized competency of some of the men who have made them. There are men speaking in the name of the Church of the textile industry, of garment making, of railroading, of coal or of steel with exact knowledge acquired by long and painstaking investigation.

The better way in industry. In its studies of industry the Church finds many encouraging examples of the better way. Large-scale industry, by its very nature, breaks the human tie between labor and capital. Only by the strongest assertion that men are not commodities, that the values of personality are supreme, can humaneness and justice be made to exert their authority under such conditions. Farmer's children, tenants, farm hands, foreign unskilled workers as well as Americans, men and women, are not merely means to industrial production but ends in themselves. The hardest place to remember this is in large-scale and long-range production. Democracy must secure essential human rights to people under all these conditions of work. Life they must have, with health and with some leisure for happiness and the pursuit of ideals. The Church's chief interest in industry is thus to follow the efforts to put back the human element into industry and to reestablish human contacts and mutual good-will.

Democratic control and the release of new industrial motive. The Church is particularly interested in industrial democracy. It has made appeals in many of its formal statements that employees be allowed a part in the conduct of the industry in which they are; that their partnership in the production of wealth be recognized by a share in the management of the plant in which

they work and of themselves as workers. On the basis of its profound knowledge of human nature, the Church feels sure that this would result in unlocking new motives to faithful and efficient work. The hired man toiling alongside of the farmer, will redouble his efforts in order to get a load of hay in before the rain comes. He can see the speeding cloud as well as the farmer can; but talk to the labor group of a great factory about the need of increasing output in order to weather a financial storm, and they will probably say in their hearts, "You're just trying to scare more work out of us." They do not see the account books of the corporation or know the production records of competitive plants. Storm is not visible to them, and they see no reason for working harder. Now the beginnings of democracy in industry are to take working men into confidence about their jobs, and to let them really help work out the conditions which determine the fortunes of entire industries. This participation in management is usually attempted through some form of industrial or works council, associating representatives of the employees with the management in a controlling body with greater or less authority to make decisions.

Trying it out in one plant. In the Wisconsin Steel Works of South Chicago, a plant of the International Harvester Company, there is a works council of fifteen representatives from the management and fifteen from the workers. Its first action was to have regular reports made to the men as well as to the executive heads, on such matters as numbers employed, dismissals, accidents, and sanitation as illustrated by the use of bathing facilities and so forth. Next it was ordered that the minutes should be taken down verbatim, printed, and circulated to all employees. In this way every man in

the plant might know exactly what was said in the discussions of the council by all parties from the chief executive down. It was open diplomacy.

At an early stage the council deadlocked on the question of the wage increases for certain classes of the employees. Their difference was referred to the President of the corporation, who replied by proposing a compromise acceptable to the men. The council tackled the problems of Americanization, organizing classes in English with varying success. It provided continuation schooling for employed boys of school age. It organized a Chautauqua and developed a system of factory athletics. At various times the management produced its figures of production and urged that the plant was not working up to its reasonable capacity. These figures the workers criticized at length. They hung on to the problem and turned it over and over until it was fully comprehended. To help meet the high cost of living the council arranged for buying great quantities of government supplies on the club plan.

Then came the steel strike. The Wisconsin Steel Works was already on a basic eight hour day, and there were actually no complaints before the council. The unionized crafts were, however, called out by the strike leaders, and about twenty-five per cent of the men stopped work. The Council therefore ordered the works closed down "in order to face the inevitable decently," as one of the members expressed it, and for fear of violence. It held daily session while the strike lasted. The works were opened again when the daily canvassing of the sentiment of the men seemed to show that the majority of them were willing to return. Those who did not return at the call of the council were generally re-

instated as employees after examination. Only a few "intimidators" were permanently discharged.

For many months the men had been managing the restaurant at the Wisconsin Steel Plant. When the increase of prices required it, they had to increase their charges for meals and, when they could no longer stand the increased prices, they reduced the bonus received by the restaurant workers. In other words, confronted by financial responsibility they began to see the force of conditions which governed the company.

Conclusions from this experience. The detailed study of exactly what such a work's council does seems to prove:

1. That it is concerned with really important issues. It is not mere details, but large policies which determine morale and profits which can be handled by employers and men together under such a form of management participation.

2. The democratic development of a collective judgment is a really valuable contribution to the conduct of industry. All sides really learn by arguing. The humor, candor, tact, and honesty of the men associated in the council bring about most interesting results. The desire to agree makes it almost impossible not to agree in the long run.

3. In this participation of minds to bring about wise decisions, the ability of the workers is a very real factor. They do not merely listen and vote, but make suggestions, argue, and convince their employing fellows. They show first-grade managing capacity.

4. Nevertheless, the problem of works loyalty against union loyalty remains unsolved. The man does not know which loyalty he ought to follow in case of strike. That

the management of the Wisconsin Steel Works felt this embarrassment is shown by the fact that, while holding forms of discipline, it tacitly extenuated the conduct of its men who stuck by the union rather than by the council.

5. Partly on spontaneous grounds and partly induced by fear there remains a real sense of the solidarity of labor, in spite of good conditions within a particular plant. Labor feels that it is under a certain obligation to strike sympathetically for the sake of the tens of thousands of fellow-workers who are still bound by a twelve-hour day.

6. Nevertheless the strike does not prove the work's council a failure. Its consequences were greatly modified. There is a cordial recognition of the desire for justice and good-will on the part of the corporation and a real though incomplete loyalty towards it on account of the council.

7. This is many thousand miles ahead of the imperialistic or paternalistic attitude on the part of the employer and the bitter attitude which such a position breeds in the minds of workers. A very radical difference in feeling and motive is evident.

8. Even at its best the application of the industrial council idea is incomplete. There is still, on the one hand, the world of organized labor, and on the other, the reservation of fundamental administrative authority by management. The account books of industry are not open to the workers. Their wages are determined upon the basis of current wages rather than with reference to their share in the creation of wealth or upon real partnership basis. The industrial council is thus only a beginning, though it is a good beginning.

On the side of capital this sharing of management with labor is the best tendency that the Church's study of industry has revealed. On the side of labor, it finds equally encouraging tendencies and operation.

How labor is improving. The increasing control of race prejudice by labor and its advanced attitude in opening opportunity to the stranger and less esteemed elements in the working population has been recognized in another connection. Two other great constructive developments of labor in recent months should be recorded.

1. *The cooperative movement.* From striving with others about economic relations, American organized labor, now for the first time is turning seriously to working out a type of economic organization of its own along mutual lines. Cooperative stores, and in some places cooperative manufacture, have long characterized the worker's movement in Europe. A thousand times over, groups of working people there have demonstrated their power by bringing their small bits of capital together into great reservoirs of wealth, and have proved their managing ability by operating what have come to be vast systems of trade commerce and industry. In America efforts at economic cooperation are now being undertaken by organized labor. These should have the direct sympathy and help of the Church.

2. *Cultural movements.* Again organized labor is putting new stress upon cultural ends. It has organized labor colleges in a dozen of the larger cities and is making many attempts to educate the people, not merely along vocational lines, but culturally as well. Dramatic clubs producing serious works have been organized for the interpretation of life from the working people's



A RELIGIOUS MEETING IN A SHIPBUILDING YARD

The Church's chief interest in industry is to follow the efforts to put back the human element into industry and to reestablish human contacts and mutual good-will.

standpoint. But many of these educational efforts are crude and lacking in experienced leadership.

Now the Church is an old hand at education. It has an historic culture, a wonderful series of institutions, and a long experience with school technique. It could do nothing more patriotic or more calculated to secure the confidence and respect of the workers than to put its resources at their command. The leadership of the people's college movement abroad has owed much to the liberal spirit in the Church, and there is no reason why it might not become a recognized Christian policy in America to facilitate and back up these educational movements which the worker is initiating. Such a service as is being rendered by a pastor in the Worker's College in Seattle shows how strong a point of contact with labor the Church might find on these lines.

The industrial service of the Church to the nation. Just how important is it that the Church should make a point of contact with labor both by investigation and by service. How much of an issue is at stake in its desire to know about social questions and its effort to let the light of discussion in upon economic struggle? Good people there are who feel it highly improper for the Church to leave its recognized spiritual field to deal with these vexed issues of the working world. Why cannot such matters simply be dropped? To be concerned with them is to subject the Church to the strain of criticism and to the very definite risk of error. People do not like it when the Church criticises their economic methods; while on the other hand, the Church is sometimes mistaken and has to take back its words. Is it not better, then, for the Church simply to stay out of the economics field?

Risks worth taking. In order to justify the Church in taking these risks, let us see quite clearly the function which it performs in American society when, for example, it reports on the steel strike. It acts as the brain and heart of democracy. It does the most necessary service possible. It puts into effect the only known alternative to revolution. And no agency is in so good a position to do this and still to be trusted by both contending parties.

The crowded and colossal tragedy which the recent past has enacted on the stage of world-history has familiarized us, not merely with the theory, but with the practise of revolution. We have seen the glare of its fires reflected from across the seas. Its excuse and sometimes its justification is that government is against the people, that it is the tool of their oppressors. The threat of revolution in America has been made.

Tyrannies beneath the flag. We insist with one accord that the heart of America is sound and that we have a government of, for, and by the people. At the same time we admit without question that now and again local governments have been oppressive to the degree which would cause revolution if the nation were equally oppressive. Corporations in control of the military and police powers and owning the property in which entire communities live and work, have exercised oppressive and intolerable rôles through the forms of democracy. This has happened not once, nor twice.

To the ignorant foreign worker this is a typical expression of government. Furthermore, he is quite justified in his feeling. There is every righteous reason to feel that to oppose a government which does things unjustly is wholesome and proper. But from the stand-

point of local peace and order such opposition is revolution; and when the forces of the state and nation are called in to back the strength of local government, a well-nigh irrepressible conflict is on.

At the same time the foreigner who resists what he feels to be local oppression insists that he is loyal to the United States. He stands for the true America as against the false,—for the America of our dreams. The only way whereby the sad, long history of local industrial conflict involving bloodshed and disorder can be prevented from engendering an avalanche of hatred destined finally to engulf the nation in destruction is by letting the light of reason and truth in upon the industrial situation. The press, the university, and all good citizens share in this fundamental responsibility. The Church's part is only a share, but it will be recreant to its task if it fails to carry this share, if it ceases to keep investigating and reporting upon what goes on behind factory walls and in industrial communities—always, of course, in the spirit of fairness and good-will and with no bias but that of Christ.

The cost and the value of courage. The Church needs a vast amount of money to carry on its missionary enterprise in America and in the world. Concerning itself with industrial conflict puts it in great peril of alienating some of the resources which it must look to for much of its financial support. In developing its colossal program of adequate service, as we have glimpsed it in these pages, it will require millions and still more millions of funds. Many of these will come in small amounts from poor and devout people whose greatest gift must be in prayer and in service; but other millions must come, as always, from people of large wealth. Much of this wealth has been

acquired through the inheritance or achievement of monopoly advantage in the world, and through the methods of industry such as we have described, and which we are obliged to recognize as not in conformity with the spirit of Christ. The Protestant churches recently estimated the financial sum of their immediate missionary needs, and found that it reached the impressive total of \$375,000,000. What, then, will be the effect of continued economic investigation and truth-telling by the Church upon the supply of such missionary funds?

One may believe most confidently that in the long run the Christianity of America will be faithful to its convictions even though sometimes inconsistent in its conduct. That the Christian solution of industrial problems is hard, that honest differences of convictions will arise, and that their working out will be slow, is understood by no one so well as by those who have given most attention to the subject. It is, however, none too soon to face the alternatives. It will cost the Church something—perhaps much—to be faithful in this realm. But what will happen if the Church is not faithful, and if it secures its missionary support at the price of silence about the economic struggle?

It is simple literalness to say that if some one would give the Church \$375,000,000 at the cost of the workers' confidence it would be an unprofitable bargain. \$375,000,000 would pay for many of the enterprises which have been called for in this book. It would support new armies of missionaries, build imperatively needed religious institutions, teach hundreds of thousands of children, and save a multitude of souls. But, in spite of all this, the Church might find the hearts of men in general so much harder that after it had spent all

this money the Kingdom of God would not be advanced, but rather set backward even according to the measurements of worldly success. No price is great enough to buy the Church's honor. When the last word is said in institutional efficiency and when the innumerable needs of home missions in America have been satisfied, the greatest need of all still remains; namely, moral and spiritual power. Set as it is, to be a light in a world of which economic conflict is an ever-present factor, the ability of the Church to serve God acceptably in any realm is bound up with its fidelity in this.

This is one reason why it is impossible to exclude economic issues from any thorough-going study of home missions. Another reason is that mission boards, by the very nature of their financial dependence upon possessors of wealth, are compelled to have vital concern in and to develop conscious policies with respect to such issues.

The economic core of home missionary problems. An increasing number of denominations are giving specific responsibility to their mission boards for work in the industrial field. Social Service Bureaus originating independently are becoming integral parts of home mission activities. Not every board has a department of social service; but every board has a department which solicits funds. This is as much a part of its Christian activities as is the spending of the funds received in benevolent service. It is a fundamental aspect of the world ministry of the home missionary agencies that they call for money in the name of Christ. In so doing, the attitude they take toward the possessor of wealth, the grounds of their appeal, the motives upon which they call inevitably touch the problem of the acquirement of wealth, and therefore the problem of economic struggle.

All boards promote missionary benevolence by preaching a doctrine of Christian stewardship. This is true whether they appeal to farmer or to manufacturer. It is as true of the women's boards as of the general missionary agencies of the denominations. The isolated individual believer may remain unconscious of the economic bearings of Christianity; but no board has ever done so, and no board ever will so long as it has to solicit funds. There is nothing strange or discreditable about the fact. It is only strange where people fail to see that this brings economics into the permanent center of home missionary problems. It is one of the things which cannot be dodged.

The nearest field of service. It is the duty, therefore, of all the organized agencies of Christian missions to lead the thought and conscience of their supporters in all problems which are fundamental to their functioning as service agencies for the religious life of the American people. The individual Christian and the local church are blameworthy if, knowing the distance problems of the remote West, they forget the fringe of people around the town and within the sound of the church bell, who are just too far to walk and not far enough to justify the use of an automobile. This is their first distance problem, the one over against their own house. Similarly the transient in our own fields or dooryard, the stranger within our gates, the local prejudices which alienate townsfellows are real opportunities for home missions. To neglect these things because of interest in remote problems is ridiculous and tragic.

Yet this is parallel to what the home mission enterprise at large does if it excludes economic issues from the field of its concern. They are its nearest problems. Mission boards must have money. Where does money come from?

Who produces wealth, and at what cost to body and soul? How does it get into the hands which pass it on to the boards? Is there a square deal all around—to the workers, to the managers, to society, to the Kingdom of God, to the boards, to God himself? What part of the wealth represented by the missionary dollar was produced by Velma Swanson, the Swedish tenant's daughter, and what by Charley, the illiterate hired man? What share came from the toil of Italians in the berry fields, of Poles in the canneries, of Slavs in the mine or steel mill, of American hobos in the lumber camps or construction gangs? How did it get to be a "missionary dollar" lying in a board treasury? Did it do more damage on the way than it can now repair through the message of justice and love and the ministries of Christian service? In other words, did the manner of its acquirement raise the cost of salvation; and what is the purchasing power now in terms of human welfare and spiritual worth?

These are inexorable missionary problems. A church whose duty it is to teach the world must first teach itself. Part of the contributions of home missions to home missions is a faithful study of economic problems so that all effort in the name of Christ shall be expended in his kindness, justice, and tender regard for man both as a toiling, weary body and as a soul capable of God and of endless life.

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